

They seemed to be passing  
 Their spears,  
 Their shields.  
 They looked like real people.  
 Really like warriors  
 They looked  
 When the Tribes saw them.  
 And all the Tribes rejoiced  
 At not seeing too many,  
 For the Tribes numbered very many.  
 Innumerable people  
 Were the soldiers,  
 Were the warriors,  
 Were the killers  
 For Jaguar Quiche,  
 Jaguar Night,  
 And Nought.  
 This was on top of the mountain  
 Called Fire Peak that they were then.  
 And they went on in there  
 As we shall recount.

## LXVII

And there were there Jaguar Quiche,  
 Jaguar Night,  
 Nought  
 And Wind Jaguar.  
 All together they were  
 On top of the mountain  
 With their wives  
 And children.  
 And then came all the soldiers,  
 The warriors.  
 They were not just sixteen thousand  
 Nor twenty four thousand in the Tribes  
 Surrounding  
 The back of the town.  
 They shouted.  
 They were all equipped  
 With lances  
 With shields.  
 They burst their lungs:  
 They yelled,  
 They screamed,  
 They shouted,  
 They gloated,  
 They whistled on their hands.  
 They just came below the town,

6941. The MS has *mahucotah*.

K u kala 'on  
 Ki ch'ab,  
 6920 Ki pokob. 6920  
 Qitzih vinaq k e vachinik.  
 Qitzih chi 'e kamizanel  
 K e vachinik.  
 Ta x k il amaq'.  
 K e kikot q'ut r onohel amaq'.  
 Ma vi ha nik x k ilo.  
 Tzatz ri 'amaq' ch u q'oheyik.  
 Ma vi 'ahilan chi vinaq.  
 E 'ah labal,  
 6930 E pu kamizanel. 6930  
 E kamizay  
 R ech ri Balam Kitze,  
 Balam Aqab,  
 Mahuq'utah.  
 Are q'o ch u vi huyub.  
 Haka Vitz u bi 'e q'o vi.  
 Are q'ut k okibexik va  
 X chi qa biih chik.

## LXVII

Are q'ut e q'o chiri Balam Kitze,  
 6940 Balam Aqab, 6940  
 Mahuq'utah,\*  
 Iq'i Balam.  
 Xa hun e q'o vi  
 Ch u vi huyub  
 R uq k ixoqil,  
 K alquval.  
 Ta x e pe q'ut r onohel ah labal,  
 E kamizanel.  
 Ma vi xa ka chuy,  
 6950 Ox chuy chi'amaq' 6950  
 X kotokomih  
 Chi r ih tinamit.  
 K e 'ominik;  
 E viqitalik  
 Chi ch'ab,  
 Chi pokob.  
 Chi ki q'ozih ki chi;  
 K e lulutik;  
 K e ch'aninik;  
 6960 Chi 'ominik; 6960  
 Ki yuyub;  
 Ki xul q'ab.  
 Xa x e 'ok ch u xe tinamit.

*The Fourth Creation*

But nothing inspired fear  
In the sacrificers,  
The worshippers.  
They just watched there at the edge of the fortress;  
They lined up there  
With their wives,  
Their children. 6970  
Their hearts just turned to deeds  
And words to trouble the Tribes,  
Who were climbing up the face of the mountain  
And just a little more  
Before they would make it to the edge of the town.  
And so then they opened  
The jars,  
Of which there were four in the town,  
And then the hornets came out,  
And the wasps. 6980  
Like smoke they were  
As they came from each of the jars.  
And the warriors were finished off  
By the insects,  
Alighting on their eyes,  
And alighting on their noses,  
On their mouths,  
(On their faces,)  
On their legs,  
On their arms. 6990  
Wherever they went they got them,  
Wherever they might go they nabbed them.  
Everything was hornets  
And wasps,  
Alighting to bite their eyes,  
So that they had to watch swarms of them.  
Indeed there were so many insects  
After each man  
That they were stupified from the hornets  
And wasps. 7000  
They could no longer hold their spears  
And their shields.  
They were swollen and beaten to the surface of the  
earth.  
They scattered completely.

Ma q'u ha bi ka ki xibih k ib  
Ri 'ah q'ixib,  
Ah k'ahib.  
Xa k e kay ulok ch u chi q'ox tun.  
E cholon ulok  
R uq k ixoqil,  
K alquval. 6970  
Xa k ul ki k'ux banoh \*  
K u zuy tzih ri 'amaq'.  
Ta x e 'aqan q'ut ch u vach huyub.  
Xa q'u zkakin chik  
Ma vi k e tzakonik ch u chi tinamit.  
Kate puch ta x haq u vi  
Ri kokob,  
Kahib q'o vi chi tinamit.  
Ta x e 'el q'u ri vonon,  
Zital. 6980  
Kehe ri zib  
Ta x el ch u pam ri huhun chi kokob.  
K utzin q'u ri 'ah labal  
R umal chikop.  
Tak'atoh ch u baq' ki vach;\*  
Tak'atoh puch chi ki tzam,  
Chi ki chi,  
(Chi ki vach,)\*  
Chi k aqan,  
Chi ki q'ab.\* 6990  
A q'o vi x chi be ki chapa;\*  
A 'on q'o vi x chi be ki maha.  
R onohel q'o vi vonon,  
Zital.  
Tak'atoh ch u tiyomal u baq' u vach,\*  
X chi k ilih ch u buch.\*  
A he tak chikop  
Chi r ih ri huhun chi vinaq.  
X e q'abarik r umal vonon,  
Zital. 7000  
Ma vi x chapatah chik ki ch'ab,  
Ki pokob.  
K e von q'oyehayik ch u vach tak ulev.  
K e lahahik.

6971-2. BB has 'their thoughts just kept ahead of the deeds and blind words of the tribes'. FX reads *kuz* 'pleasant' for *k u zuy* 'have trouble with'.

6985. BB has *bac chuvi vach*.

6988. A line must be missing here, possibly the one I have supplied.

6990. It seems likely that it was part of the ruse of pretending to come for worship that the Tribes were not

wearing armor—which would have dealt effectively with wasps.

6991. Previous translations make this a question: 'who will go and get . . .' etc.

6995. The MS has *tioma*.

6996-7. BB and SJ have *huchu he tak*; BX read *buch'a he tak*.

They fell down the mountain  
 And they were no longer conscious.  
 Then they were poisoned with spears,  
 They were hacked with axes.  
 Just logs of wood  
 They threw on them in turn, 7010  
 Jaguar Quiche  
 And Jaguar Night.  
 Even their wives  
 Were warriors.  
 And they just returned to being Guardians of Fish  
 again,  
 And the Tribes just took to their heels.  
 What many of them attained  
 Was just to end being slaughtered later.  
 Not just a few people died,  
 And if one didn't die 7020  
 Whom they were trying to attack,  
 Then the insects just caught up with him.  
 There was no more manliness  
 They could perform.  
 No spears  
 And no shields did they carry.  
 Then all the Tribes were defeated,

7007. BB, SJ, and VC have *cac* for *qiyag*; *qiyah* is 'to poison'.

7013. BB and SJ have *xoc* for *xa 'e*.

7015. FX and BB have 'and half of them'.

7026. The story of this fight is somewhat different in the Lineage of the Lords of Totonacapan:

And when our fathers learned of it,  
 They went to consult the spirits, who replied,  
 "Make twelve wooden dummies  
 Dressed up with bows  
 And arrows  
 And everything you took from the enemy last  
 time.  
 And when that is done,  
 Have them set up on some little rises,  
 In order,  
 As though about to attack.  
 You will take four great jars,  
 And fill them,  
 One with big wasps,  
 Another with little wasps,  
 Another with serpents,  
 And the other with beetles,  
 And in between each four dummies  
 You will put one jar."  
 They took advantage of these suggestions  
 Because in relation to the thirteen peoples of  
 the Seven Tribes  
 The lineage headed by Jaguar Quiche,  
 Jaguar Night,  
 And Nought,  
 Had few people.  
 The peoples,

X e qahik ch u vach huyub.  
 Are q'ut ma vi ka ki na chik.  
 Ta x e qiyag chi ch'ab.\*  
 X e ch'oy chi 'ikah.  
 Xa bolah chee  
 X ki koh chik 7010  
 Balam Kítze,  
 Balam Aqab.  
 Xa 'e k ixoqil,\*  
 E kamizanel.  
 Xa vi q'u x e tzalih ri Chah Kar chik.\*  
  
 Xa x el chik chi k aqan r onohel amaq'.  
 Are ki riq k'i  
 Nabe x e 'utzinik x e kamizaxik.  
 Ma na xa zkakin chi vinaq x kamik.  
 Ma vi 'are x kam vi 7020  
 Ri x ki tz'ayih chi ki k'ux,  
 Xa q'u chikop x ok chi k e.  
 Ma na q'u la 'achihilal tah  
 X ki bano.  
 Ma vi ch'ab,  
 Ma vi pokob tah x e kam vi.\*  
 Ta x e yoq'otahik r onohel amaq'.\*

Relying on numbers,  
 Decided to attack  
 And kill our fathers.  
 But since the latter were well warned,  
 They used their enchantments,  
 Making clouds,  
 Thunder,  
 Lightning,  
 Hail,  
 Earthquakes,  
 And other things to go with the dummies.  
 Nevertheless, the enemies attacked.  
 But since our people had placed the dummies  
 in battle order,  
 The enemies shot at them  
 Until they got tired.  
 Then the ladies,  
 The wives of Jaguar Quiche,  
 Jaguar Night,  
 And Nought,  
 Uncovered the jars of serpents  
 And wasps,  
 Which, spreading out over the enemies,  
 Made some flee, throwing away their arms,  
 And others die,  
 Whom our people finished stripping.  
 Thus it was that that war ended,  
 And our ancestors have been famous from  
 that time  
 As extraordinary men  
 And brave.

(lines 279-332)

7027. FX reads *yakah* 'get up' for *yaq'oh* 'trample'.

*The Fourth Creation*

And the Tribes just bowed down again  
Before them:  
Jaguar Quiche,  
Jaguar Night  
And Nought.  
"Have pity on our face.  
Don't kill us,"  
They said.  
"Very well.  
Indeed you might have been the dead.  
You will be servants  
On the road of day,  
On the road of light," they were told.  
And thus was the defeat  
Of all the Tribes  
By our first mothers  
And fathers.  
There it was done on top of the mountain  
Called Fire Peak today.  
So later they prospered  
There.  
They grew;  
They multiplied.  
They had daughters,  
They had sons on top of Fire Peak.  
They rejoiced again  
That they had won.  
All the Tribes there had been defeated  
On top of the mountain.  
And thus they did it  
They had beaten  
The Tribes,  
All the Tribes.  
And so then their hearts settled.  
They told their sons  
That the time was approaching  
For them to die,  
Since they very much wanted to be killed.  
So next we shall recount the death  
Of Jaguar Quiche,  
Jaguar Night,  
Nought  
And Wind Jaguar as they are called.

LXVIII

For they knew about their death,  
Their loss,

7028. Omitted by FX.

7047. FX consistently reads *tikih* 'plant' for *tiqeh*

Xa q'u x e 'elah chik ri 'amaq' \*  
Chi ki vach  
7030 Ri Balam Kitze, 7030  
Balam Aqab,  
Mahuq'utah.  
"Toq'ob qa vach.  
Ma ta k oh kamik,"  
X e ch'a.  
"Utz ba la,  
Xax ix vi kamel ch uxik,  
Ix ah patan  
Chi be q'ih,  
7040 Chi be zaq," x e 'uch'axik. 7040  
Kehe q'ut u ch'akatahik  
R onohel amaq' ri  
K umal qa nabe chuch,  
Qahav.  
Chiri x ban vi ch u vi huyub,  
Haka Vitz u biinam vakamik.  
Are nabe x e tiqe vi \*  
Chiri.  
X e poq' vi;  
7050 X e k'iyaritah vi.\* 7050  
X e mialanik;  
X e q'aholanik ch u vi Haka Vitz.  
K e kikot chik ta  
X ki ch'ako.  
R onohel amaq' chiri,  
Ch'akatahinak vi ch u vi huyub.  
Kehe q'ut x ki ban ri.  
X ki ch'ak na  
Amaq',  
7060 R onohel amaq'. 7060  
Kate q'ut x kube ki k'ux.  
X e tzihon chi r e ki q'ahol  
X naqah ok  
K e kam ok.  
Ta k'i x e r ah kamizaxik.  
Are chik vi x chi qa biih chik ki kamik  
Balam Kitze,  
Balam Aqab,  
Mahuq'utah,  
7070 Iq'i Balam ki bi. 7070

LXVIII

X ki na q'ut ki kamik,  
Ki zachik

'prosper'.

7050. The MS has *quiritah*.

So they bade farewell  
 To their sons.  
 They were not sick  
 And they did not slip.  
 They just expired,  
 Leaving their word for their sons.  
 These are the names of their sons here:  
 There were two engendered by Jaguar 7080  
 Quiche.  
 Chief Two was the name of the firstborn.  
 Chief Kinsmen in turn was the name of the second  
 born,  
 The sons  
 Of Jaguar Quiche,  
 The grandfather  
 And father of the Kaveks.  
 And then again there were two more engendered  
 by Jaguar Night.  
 These are their names here:

7081. *Qo* is an honorific prefix to the names of important lords, usually combining with what appear to be the names of lineages or sublineages. It has never been translated and its meaning is uncertain. The MS usually has it *go*. The principal etymological possibilities are (1) *q'o* 'is, exists, is located', (2) *q'ov* 'strong', (3) *q'o* '400', and (4) *koh* 'worship' (*a kohikal* 'your honor' is an honorific for the deity in modern Quiche.) I have settled on 'Chief' as conveying the honorific quality and combining easily with the other translatable names. *Kaib* is clearly 'two' and the possible alternative construals are unattractive. *Qavib* is probably the plural of *qav* 'kinsman, ancestor'.

7082. The Origin of the Lords of Zapotitlan says:  
 Jaguar Quiche,  
 The older brother, had two sons,  
 One named Chief Koha  
 And the other named Chief Rohon Amaq'.  
 These two sons of Jaguar Quiche  
 Were the first to discover the province of  
 Canebrake,  
 And they explored it  
 And conquered it.  
 Chief Koha engendered Tooth.  
 He ruled for his father, called Chief Koha,  
 And it was he who conquered the land of Rabinal  
 And its vicinity.  
 Chief Rohon Amaq'  
 The second son of Jaguar Quiche  
 And brother of Chief Koha,  
 Engendered Bird.  
 This Bird and Tooth  
 Were equal in command,  
 And they fought at night  
 And went at night to kill enemy people,  
 Whom they found scattered  
 And unprepared;  
 To make themselves feared taking on the appear-

Ta x e pixabik  
 Chi r ech ki q'ahol.  
 Ma na 'e ta yab,  
 Ma pu k e hilovik.  
 K e polov tah,  
 Ta x kanah ki tzih chi r e ki q'ahol.  
 Are ki bi ki q'ahol va,  
 E kaib x u q'aholah Balam Kitze. 7080

Qo Kaib u bi nabeyal;\*  
 Qo Kavib chik u bi 'u kaabal,\*

U q'ahol  
 Balam Kitze,  
 U mam,  
 U qahav Qavekib.\*  
 E chiri q'u kaib chik x u q'aholah Balam Aqab.

Are ki bi va:

ance of men  
 By the sight of the devil,  
 Jaguars,  
 And panthers,  
 And they flew through the air at night,  
 Spouting fire from their mouths,  
 And from this they did great damage so that they  
 became afraid of them  
 And the whole land of Rabinal was subjected.  
 And they gave them to understand that they were  
 the sons of Former and Shaper,  
 Which is like saying they were the sons of  
 the creator of all things.  
 Tooth, the rightful king through the older  
 brother,  
 Engendered Corn.  
 He too was a sorcerer,  
 And did what his ancestors had done.  
 Bird engendered Leg,  
 And they were equal in command,  
 As between two first cousins,  
 And they were great sorcerers.  
 Corn,  
 The rightful lord,  
 Engendered Chief Two  
 And Chief Kaibim.

(lines 9-52)

The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan agrees with this genealogy:

Jaguar Quiche engendered Chief Tzaha  
 And Chief Raxon Amak.  
 Chief Tzaha engendered Bird.  
 He engendered Corn Snake,  
 Who engendered Chief Two  
 And Chief Kinsmen.

(lines 601-6)

7086. This is the one point at which the MS has *qahav* rather than *cahav*. The MS also has *cauquib*.

*The Fourth Creation*

Chief Acul was the name of his first son;

Chief Acutec was the second son

Of Jaguar Night

Of the Great-Houses.

And Nought engendered only one.

Chief Lord was his name.

The three of them engendered sons.

There was no son of Wind Jaguar.

Truly they were sacrificers

And worshippers,

And these are the names of their sons.

There they took their leave formerly.

They were all one,

The four divisions.

They sorrowed,

Their hearts were oppressed.

They wept in their hearts

And in their singing.

"It Is Hidden" was the name of their song.

They sang it.

When they then took leave of their sons:

"Oh our sons,

We are going,

But we shall return.

Bright words,

Bright commands are our farewell to you."

"And you have come

Very far into the mountains,

Oh our wives,"

They said

To their wives,

Each of them,

Taking leave of them.

"We are going to our city.

It is already the turn of our Lord Deer

Reflected in the sky.

It is only the return

We must make.

Our office is accomplished.

Our sun is complete

And you know us.

7090

7100

7110

7120

Qo Acul u bi u nabe u q'ahol;\*

Qo Acutec ch u ch'ax chik u kaab u q'ahol 7090

Balam Aqab

R ech Ni Hayibab.

Xa q'u hun x u q'aholah Mahuq'utah.

Qo Ahav u bi.\*

E 'oxib x e q'aholanik.

Ma ha bi 'u q'ahol ri 'Iq'i Balam.

Qitzih ah q'ixib,

Ah k'ahib.

Are q'ut ki bi ki q'ahol ri.

Are x ki pixabah kan ok .\*

7100

Xa hun e q'o vi

Ki kah ichal.

X e bixanik.

Chi q'atat ki k'ux.

Ch oq' pu ki k'ux \*

Ch u pam ki bixik.\*

"Ka Muqu" u bi ki bix,\*

X ki bixah.

Ta x e pixab q'ut chi r e ki q'ahol:

"Ix qa q'ahol,\*

7110

K oh beek,

K oh tzalih puch.\*

Zaqil tzih,\*

Zaqil pixab qa pixab ch iv e."

"Mi q'u x ix ul

Q'a ka naht chi huyubal,

Ix q ixoqil,"

X e ch'a

Chi r e k ixoqil,

Chi ki huhunal,

7120

X e pixabik.

"K oh be chi q amaq'.

Cholan chik q Ahaval Keh \*

Leman chi kah.

Xa tzalihem

X chi qa bano.

Mi x banatahik qa patan.

Mi x tz'aqat qa q'ih.

K oh i na q'ut.

7089-90. *Qo Acul* may be from Nahuatl *atl* 'water' and *coloa* 'twist'. *Qo Acutec* might be *atl* plus *coltic* 'twisted'. BB locates a town *ch u vi Acutec* between Malacatan and Huehuetenango (pp. 342-3). See note to line 5105. The text says 'was called' but it is hard to make the poetry come out in English and include a verb.

7094. FX has *haan* for *ahav* throughout this section.

7100. BX have *pixabeh*.

7105. BX have *pa* for *pu*.

7106. The MS has *pan* for *pam*.

7107. The MS has *camacu* here.

7110. The constant refrain of the Annals of the Cakchiquels, *ix nu q'ahol* 'ye my sons', implies that this is an ancient formula.

7112. FX inserts a negative.

7113. Written, perhaps? See line 50.

7123. Obviously a reference to the date in some large cycle.

You will not forget us,  
 And you will not dump us out.  
 Now look for  
 Your home  
 And your mountain  
 And you will prosper.  
 So be it.  
 Go now.  
 Come back  
 And look again  
 And we shall come,"  
 Their word  
 Said then.  
 So they took their leave  
 And there remained behind  
 The sign,  
 The essence of Jaguar Quiche.  
 "This is your talisman for me,  
 Which I will leave with you.  
 It is your glory,  
 This, here.  
 I say farewell  
 And grieve,"  
 He said then  
 As he left  
 His sign,  
 His essence,  
 The Shrouded Glory  
 As it is called.  
 Its face is not clear.  
 He wrapped and shrouded it.  
 It is never unwrapped.  
 The sewing on it is not clear  
 Because it can't be seen,  
 It is so shrouded.  
 And thus they took their leave  
 And then they were gone

7132. BX have *ila* for *il*.

7147. Literally, 'knocker': means of summoning. Mayan doorbells are called this in Quiche (cf. Tozzer, 1941, p. 86).

7148. BX have *i* for *in*.

7157. Certain passages in Bunzel's texts (1952, pp. 126, 138) imply that personal "sacred bundles" are still kept in Chichicastenango and are used on solemn but personal ritual occasions. It is not clear whether these were always divining bundles.

7162. BB and SJ have *tzixbal*.

7166. The disappearance of the ancestors is described as follows in the Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan:

And when the day star returned  
 They gave thanks.

7130 M oh i zacho.  
 Moh i mez kutah puch.  
 Ch iv il na \*  
 'Iv ochoch,  
 I huyubal puch  
 K ix tige vi.  
 Ta ch ux ok.  
 K ix be q'ut.  
 Ch i be  
 Iv ila chik  
 7140 X oh pe vi,"  
 X ch'a q'u  
 Ki tzih.  
 Ta x e pixabik,  
 Ta x kanah q'ut  
 R etal,  
 U q'oheyik ri Balam Kitze.  
 "Are 'i tanabal v ech.\*  
 Va x ch in kanah iv uq.\*  
 Are 'i q'aq'al.  
 7150 Vae.  
 Mi x nu pixabah.  
 X nu bizoh,"  
 X ch'a q'ut  
 Ta x u kanah  
 Ri r etal,  
 U q'oheyik.  
 Pizom Q'aq'al \*  
 Ch uch'axik.  
 Ma vi q'alah u vach;  
 7160 X u viqi pizilik.  
 X ma vi kiron vi.  
 Ma vi q'alah t'izobal r e \*  
 R umal ma hi x ilovik  
 Ta x pizik.  
 Kehe q'ut ki pixabik ri  
 Ta x e zach q'ut \*

The lords went to their gods  
 And taking out incense of distinctive odor  
 They offered it  
 Saying,  
 "Twice,  
 And three times  
 We thank you, creators of everything around us,  
 We thank you because we have seen the sun  
 again  
 And we hope to see it many times more,  
 Together with the stars,  
 And you,  
 Our old homeland,  
 Tula,  
 Zuyua,  
 Where our brothers are,  
 Receive our vows."

*The Fourth Creation*

There  
On top of Fire Peak mountain.  
They were no longer seen by their wives  
And children.  
Their disappearance is not clear  
When they disappeared,  
Although their farewell is quite clear.  
And the Shroud became sacred to them.  
It was the commemoration of their father.  
So at once they burned offerings  
Before their commemoration  
Of their father.  
That was when there began  
(The sacrifice of) people for the lords.  
So they died  
Beginning in honor of Jaguar Quiche,

So they spoke,  
Burning the incense,  
And the smoke first went straight up,  
Proving that it was agreeable to the great god,  
And then inclined toward the sun,  
Which was a sign  
That those offerings  
And those vows,  
Born in the secret parts of the heart,  
Had reached the presence  
Of our father,  
Nacxit.  
Having fulfilled these obligations, they wor-  
shipped  
And then called the people together.  
Speaking for the others,  
Jaguar Quiche said,  
"Until now, we have fulfilled our duty,  
All for your good.  
We leave you full of honors,  
Free of enemies,  
Tried in valor,  
And known for your superiority.  
They will always fear you.  
Preserve the precious gift  
Given us by our father,  
Nacxit,  
Because we have (not) yet found the place  
In which we must settle.  
Engender sons  
Worthy of the titles  
Of Counsellor,  
Step House Counsellor,  
Captain,  
Knight.  
Make sons full of glory  
And majesty  
From what has been given us by our father,  
Nacxit.  
Care for your mothers.  
We who have been til now  
Your lords  
And rulers  
Are mortal.  
Soon we shall disappear."

Chiri  
Ch u vi huyub Haka Vitz.  
Ma na x e muq tah r umal k ixoqil,  
7170 K alquval. 7170  
Ma vi q'alah ki zachik,  
Ta x e zachik.  
Xere q'alah ri ki pixabik.  
Loq q'u ri Pizom chi k ech x uxik.  
Are nababal r ech ki qahav.  
Xa hu zuq x e k'aton \*  
Ch u vach ki nababal  
R ech ki qahav.\*  
Are ta x vinaqir vi  
7180 Vinaq k umal ahavab 7180  
Ta x e kam  
Chi r ih Balam Kitze tikarinak vi \*

Thus spoke  
Jaguar Quiche.  
And having passed that day well  
And retired well,  
When dawn came they were no longer there.  
They disappeared without anyone's knowing  
how.  
But do not take fright  
At hearing this,  
For the sons of Jaguar Quiche,  
Jaguar Night,  
And Nought  
Took the names of their fathers.  
Without knowing how,  
They found themselves with all their children  
On the mountains  
Where the gods were.  
And from this miracle  
From that time they named those mountains:  
The Illumination of Storm  
Was one;  
The Illumination of Lord Jaguar  
Was another;  
And the Illumination of Fire Peak  
Was the other.

(lines 650-734)

7176. FX reads *q'atoh* 'cut' for *k'atoh* 'burn'.

7178. Thousands of small stone and pottery figurines have been found in highland Guatemala. They are usually called *camahuiles* (*kabavil* 'deity') or *alaxik* 'birth-stones', and date to as early as the 6th century A.D. (Wauchope, 1948, pp. 162-3). They are crudely made and conventionalized, and do not suggest differentiated divinities. It is my guess that they were conceived as ancestral commemorations as is suggested by the allusion in this passage. The modern Indians have been known to carry them as charms in their shoulder bags or to set them up in their homes and pray to them as icons, though both customs are now rare.

7182. BX have *tikirinak*. BB translates 'so it was that men multiplied because of the princes, since the latter received (the power of the kidneys of Jaguar Quiche)' [sic!].

The grandfather  
 And father of the Kaveks  
 Who sinned then  
 And was forgiven by his sons,  
 Who were Chief Two  
 And Chief Kinsmen by name.  
 And thus they died  
 Who were the four divisions.  
 They were our first grandfathers,  
 Our fathers.  
 Then they were gone,  
 While their sons still remained  
 There  
 On top of Fire Peak mountain.  
 Their sons still tarried  
 There.  
 And still fallen  
 And scorned  
 Were the days of all the Tribes.  
 They no longer had their glory.  
 They were still crushed.  
 So they collected themselves every day  
 To commemorate their father.  
 Great was the day of the Shroud for them.  
 But they didn't untie it.  
 It was just wrapped up there with them.  
 "Shrouded Glory" they called it  
 When it was named,  
 And it was named their Secret,  
 Given formerly by their father.  
 It was just the sign really  
 Of their essence when they did it.  
 And thus was the loss  
 And destruction  
 Of Jaguar Quiche,  
 Jaguar Night,  
 Nought  
 And Wind Jaguar.  
 They were the first men  
 To come from there  
 Across the sea  
 From the sunrise.  
 Long ago then they came here.  
 When they died they were already old,  
 And sacrificers  
 And worshippers they were called.

7184. The MS has *cauquib*.

7185-6. BB has 'his sons did not disappear at all'. The couplet has the sound of a proverbial phrase.

U mam,  
 U qahav Qavekib.\*  
 X maku vi q'ut \*  
 X ki zach vi ri 'u q'ahol,  
 Ri Qo Kaib,  
 Qo Kavib ki bi.  
 Kehe q'ut ki kamik  
 Ri ki kah ichal,  
 E nabe qa mam,  
 Qa qahav.  
 Ta x e zachik,  
 Ta x kanah chik ki q'ahol  
 Chiri  
 Ch u vi huyub Haka Vitz.  
 X e yaluh chi vi ki q'ahol  
 Chiri.  
 Qahinak chik,  
 Yoq'otahinak chi puch  
 Ki q'ih k onohel amaq'.  
 Ma ha bi chik ki q'aq'al.  
 Xaq'i 'e q'o chik  
 Xa vi k u qam k ib k onohel hu tak q'ih  
 Chi ki nabah ki qahav.  
 Nim u q'ih ri Pizom chi k e.  
 Ma vi chi ki kiro.  
 Xa vi pizilik chiri k uq.  
 "Pizom Q'aq'al" ch uch'axik k umal.  
 Ta x q'ohik.\*  
 X biinah puch ki Q'uun.  
 X ya kan ok r umal ki qahav.  
 Xa r etal k'i,  
 Ki q'oheyik ta x ki bano.\*  
 Kehe q'u ki zachik,  
 Ki mayixik  
 Balam Kitze,  
 Balam Aqab,  
 Mahuq'utah,  
 Iq'i Balam,  
 E nabe vinaq  
 X e pe chila,  
 Ch aqa palo  
 Chi r elebal q'ih.  
 Oher ok k e 'ul varal.  
 Ta x e kamik e rih chik,  
 E 'ah q'ixib,  
 Ah k'ahib ki biinam.

7210. BB and SJ have *qobik*.

7214. BB omits *ki*.

LXIX

And so afterwards when they remembered  
 Their suffering  
 There  
 At the sunrise  
 Then they remembered about  
 The commandments of their fathers.  
 They did not forget what formerly  
 Their fathers had brought over.  
 The Tribes gave them their wives  
 And they became in-laws.  
 Then the three of them captured wives.  
 And then they said as they left,  
 "We are going there to the sunrise,  
 Whence our fathers came,"  
 So they spoke as they took their road.  
 There were three honored sons.  
 Chief Two  
 Was the name of one,  
 Son of Jaguar Quiche  
 Of all the Kaveks.  
 Chief Acutec  
 Was the name  
 Of the son of Jaguar Night  
 Only of the Great-Houses.  
 Chief Lord  
 Was the name of the other,  
 Son of Nought  
 Of the Lord Quiche.  
 And these are the names  
 Of those who went there across the sea.

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7240

7250

LXIX

Kate puch ta x ki k'uxilah  
 Ki bik\*  
 Chila  
 R elebal q'ih.  
 Are ki k'uxilan ri  
 U pixab ki qahav.  
 Ma vi x ki zachox oher ok  
 K e qam ok ki qahav.  
 X ya k ixoqil amaq'.  
 X ki hi'ah.  
 Ta x e choqo 'ixoq e 'oxib.  
 X e ch'a q'ut ta x e beek:  
 "K oh be chila r elebal q'ih.  
 Chila x e pe vi qa qahav,"  
 X e ch'a ta x ki qam ki be  
 E 'oxib chi q'aholaxel.\*  
 Qo Kaib  
 U bi hun,  
 U q'ahol Balam Kitze,  
 R ech r onohel Qavekib.\*  
 Qo Acutec  
 U bi  
 Q'ahol Balam Aqab  
 Xa r ech Ni-Hayibab.  
 Qo 'Ahav  
 U bi hun chik  
 U q'ahol Mahuq'utah  
 R ech Ahav K'iche.  
 Are q'u ki bi  
 Ri x e be chila ch aqa palo.\*

7230

7240

7250

7230. BB reads *ki bik* '(of) their going'; I read *bikoh* 'suffer'.

7244. They had not inherited their fathers' titles as Sacrificers and Worshippers so it was necessary for them to acquire titles of their own from a proper authority. They received the titles Counsellor and Step House Counsellor (lines 7291-2).

7248. The MS has *coaviquib*.

7258. The Origin of the Lords of Zapotitlan has a divergent account of Chief Two:

Corn,  
 The rightful lord,  
 Engendered Chief Two  
 And Chief Kaibim.  
 Chief Two was the one who inherited the kingdom from his father  
 And was the first to form the state.  
 This Chief Two thus subjected eleven lords of his predecessors  
 And was the first to form a people.  
 And he made a royal palace  
 And a fort in Rabinal.

He was the first who gave assent  
 And created a Captain,  
 And he created Governors  
 And Captains,  
 And divided them out  
 As heads of lineages.  
 He was the first to make laws  
 And privileges,  
 And it was he who made them pay tribute,  
 Each one from what he had and what there was,  
 And he who had nothing from which to pay tribute  
 Served with his person or the things which were suitable.  
 This Chief Two  
 Made his brother Chief Kaibim,  
 General of his land,  
 Which is called Counsellor,  
 And he thus made him equal  
 Even though he didn't acknowledge his seniority.  
 He instituted  
 And named

There were three  
 As they went,  
 But they had their wisdom  
 And they had their understanding.  
 They were not just as ordinary men in essence.  
 They had already taken leave  
 Of all their older brothers,  
 And younger brothers.  
 They rejoiced  
 To be going.  
 "We won't die;  
 We'll come back,"  
 They said  
 As the three of them left.  
 Actually they crossed over the sea,  
 And then they arrived there at the sunrise.  
 They went to receive the lordship.  
 And this is the name of the lord there,  
 The ruler  
 Of the people at the sunrise.  
 They arrived then.

## LXX

And when they arrived  
 Before the lord,  
 Nacxit was the name of the great lord,  
 The sole judge  
 Of a huge jurisdiction.  
 And it was he who gave out the signs of authority,  
 All the insignia.

Nine Captains  
 Or Governors  
 To govern the town,  
 And they attended him.  
 And no one governing could be a boy—  
 Until he was of age  
 And was energetic  
 And held to be able,  
 And thus one did not govern even the closest of  
 his house  
 And kindred until he was of age.  
 This Chief Kaibim,  
 The second brother,  
 Because of his brother's absence,  
 Since he was away from home,  
 Had a son by his sister-in-law,  
 And then his brother Chief Two returned  
 And saw the trouble he had created by his law  
 Before he went to hang himself.  
 And the son who was in his sister-in-law,  
 One of his grandmothers hid him.  
 When he was of age, his uncle  
 And stepfather  
 Gave him the post of his father,  
 Which was to be one of the Counsellors.

E 'oxib  
 Ta x e beek.  
 Xa vi q'o ki naoh,  
 Q'o pu k etamabal.  
 Ma na xa 'e ta vinaq ki q'oheyik.\*  
 X ki pixabah kan ok  
 R onohel k atz,  
 Ki ch'ak'.  
 K e kikitik  
 X e beek.  
 "Ma vi k oh kamik,\*  
 K oh ulik,"  
 X e ch'a \*  
 Ta x e beek e 'oxib.  
 Xa vi xere x e 'iq'ovik ch u vi palo \*  
 Ta x e 'opon q'ut chila r elebal q'ih.  
 Ta x be ki qama ri 'ahavarem.  
 Are q'ut u bi 'ahav va,\*  
 R ahaval  
 Ah r elebal q'ih.\*  
 X e 'opon vi.

## LXX

Ta x e 'opon q'ut  
 Ch u vach ahav.  
 Nacxit u bi nima 'ahav.\*  
 Xa hu q'atol tzih  
 Tzatz r ahavarem.  
 Are q'ut x ya 'ulok r etal ahavarem,  
 R onohel u vachinel.

So that this Chief Two kept the kingdom  
 Without anyone else being king or governing.  
 (lines 49-104)

7263. BB and SJ have *xa 'et* for *xa 'e ta*.  
 7269. SJ has *q'alibah*.  
 7271. SJ has *x e ch'a (ta)*.  
 7273. BX omit *xa vi*.  
 7276. The MS has *cu* for *q'ut*.  
 7278. Several commentators try to twist Central American geography to put the Peten east (or in other contexts west) rather than north of the highlands. BB sensibly mentions here the direction of Livingstone and Honduras. It seems strange that no one has proposed Kaminaljuyu.  
 7282. *Nacxit* occurs also in Aztec legends. Apparently the name comes from *na(hui)* 'four' and *icxiti* 'leg'. WC has 'he who stands on the four world corners', which is fanciful. GR translates 'gemstones' and BB says it is the Pokomam for 'precious stone'. If so, it must be a Nahuatl loan word in Pokomam. Nacxitl is one of the names of Quetzalcoatl in the *Cantares Mexicanos*. Wauchope (1948, p. 39) finds grounds for placing the visit to Nacxit around 1383.

Then came the sign of the Counsellor  
And Step House Counsellor.  
And then came the sign of the power  
And authority  
Of Counsellor  
And Step House Counsellor.  
In the end Nacxit gave out  
The insignia of lordship.  
These are the names of them: Canopy,

7290

Ta x petik r etal ah popol,\*  
Ah pop qam hayil.  
Ta x pe q'ut r etal u q'aq'al,\*  
R ahavarem puch:  
Ah Pop,  
Ah Pop Qam Haa.  
X k'iz u ya 'ulok Nacxit  
U vachinel r ahavarem.  
Are tak u bi va; muh,\*

7290

7287. *Ah Pop* 'he of the mat' was the title of the Quiche "king." The verb *popoh* 'counsel' is derived from the same root. The title of the second lord is problematic. It could be *qam* 'collect' or *kam* 'die'. I read it as *q'am* 'stairs'. The final element could be *ha* 'water' or *haa* 'house'. I think *q'am haa* 'step house' is the word for 'pyramid'.

7289. BX have *q'u* for *q'ut*.

7295-7312. By general agreement this is the most difficult passage in the Popol Vuh and no previous translation has been able to make much out of it. The poetic scansion is anchored in the pairs *muh(ibal)-q'alibal* (commonly paired in other Quiche documents); *tatil-q'an abah*; *tziqovil koh-tziqovil balam*; *q'uzuh* 'bend'-*buzuh* 'bend'; *kax* 'stuff'-*onoh* 'fill'; and *chiyom-aztapulul*. The text then falls into the reading I have given it more or less naturally, invalidating many of the proposed interpretations of the signs of kingship.

FX says (pp. 123-4): "The seat of the king was notable because it had a canopy of brilliant feathers, and on the cover other layers of various colors so that it represented great majesty. The prince who was to succeed him had three layers and the other brothers two. . . . The king of Guatemala or Utatlan did not differ from the others in dress except that he had his ears and nose pierced, which was considered grandeur." The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan confirms that the Ah Pop had a four-tiered canopy, the Ah Pop Q'am Haa three, and the Nim Ch'okoh of the Kavek two.

Encouraged by FX I read *tzam baq* 'nose bone' for the *zabac* of the MS. The usual reading is 'flute'. It is of course not clear whether it was the septum or the nasal flange which was pierced (see Tozzer, 1941, p. 126).

I derive *cham cham* from Nahuatl *champuchtlī* 'earring'. It cannot be *chirimia*, as has been suggested, since that instrument is probably of European origin (McNett, 1960). 'Drum' has also been proposed. I think this is the Aztec *nacochtli* 'royal earrings'.

I read *tentetl* 'jade labret' for *tatil* (FX says 'jade'), which is confirmed by *q'an abah* 'yellow stone' in the following line. BB suggests that these are pigments for body painting. I think they are the Aztec *cozcapetlatl* 'royal gold necklace'. Tozzer (1941, p. 113) notes that labrets are rare in Yucatan but do occur.

*Tziqovil koh*, *tziqovil balam* is perfectly clear Quiche but often the phrases have been broken up and the point has been missed. BB reads in *tziqah* 'exhale' and suggests 'perfume'.

*Holom pich*, *keh* makes a strange couplet but it sounds plausible.

*Macutax* is the Nahuatl *macuetlaxtli* 'a certain bracelet'. It appears to be the Quiche equivalent of the Aztec *matemecatl* 'royal armband'.

*T'ot' tatam* is a snail shell (*t'ot'*) rustled (*tatah* 'rustle, swish'). It probably corresponds to the Aztec *matzopeztli* 'royal bracelet'.

*Q'uz* and *buz* are perfectly clear and presumably refer to the deference due a Quiche lord, already attested in line 4337 ff. The MS has *quz*. These particular verbs are new in this connection. Perhaps the gesture was distinctive. BB has a pinecone ornament and a trumpet here.

*Kax e* 'filled teeth' have been mentioned before in line 1111 ff. *On* is from *onoh* 'fill'. BB reads *caxcon*; FX *caxcom*.

*Chiyom* (FX has *chiyon*) is 'parrot feather' in Cakchiquel, according to AR, and the Nahuatl *aztapololli* 'royal crane' is clearly recognizable. I think this is the Aztec *cuachictli* 'royal panache'.

The identification of the Aztec royal insignia is drawn from Clavijero (1964, p. 223), whose description so astonishingly parallels this one that it must be quoted:

"When the king went out on campaign he wore besides arms his personal insignia: on his feet certain half boots of thin gold plates and other thin platelets of the same metal on his arms, on his wrists certain bracelets of precious stones, in his lower lip an emerald encrusted with gold and certain rings of similar stones in his ears, on his neck a chain of gold and stone pieces and a crest of eye-catching feathers on his head; but the insignie most characteristic of his rank was a precious strand (*tejido*) of beautiful feathers which fell from his head down his back to the waist. (All these royal insignia had their special names. They called the boots *cozehuatl*, the armbands *matemecatl*, the bracelets *matzopeztli*, the lip emerald *tentetl*, the pendants *nacochtli*, the chain *cozcapetlatl* and the main insignia at the back *cuachictli*.)"

It appears that these were not all of the prerogatives of kingship. The Quiche History fills in:

And there again they chose twenty two heads of family  
And twenty two masons,  
But it was just their sons they chose;  
Not anyone else.  
And it was just the grandsons of Chief Pichoch  
And Chief Choh Lan  
Who were grandfathers  
And elders

And Throne,  
Nose Bone  
And Earring,  
Jade Labret,  
And Gold Beads,  
Panther Claws  
And Jaguar Claws,  
Owl Skull  
And Deer,  
Armband of Precious Stones  
And Snail Shell Bracelet,  
Bowing  
And Bending,  
Filled Teeth  
And Inlay,  
Parrot Feather Crest,  
And Royal Crane Panache.  
And so they took them all and came away;  
Then they brought back across the sea  
The Tula scripture,  
The Scripture.  
They told about their going in it,  
In their words.

## LXXI

And so then they came back here  
Up to their town called Fire Peak,

And were just given the holy plank,  
The holy platform,  
And were just given the two *bum*  
Totally scattered,  
The bath bowl,  
The bath trough,  
Very hot water,  
Very cold shower.  
They gave to the masons  
And heads of families  
The drink,  
Smoking.  
Panther bones,  
Jaguar bones  
Were given to them  
When they were chosen.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
So they had gone back again  
And returned once more.  
They went  
To get  
The jade labret  
And gold beads held for them.  
They didn't have their panther claws  
Or jaguar claws,  
The signs of government which the throne  
And the shrine are now.  
Then Rising Eagle  
And Rising White was the name for them.  
But they didn't have the names

Q'alibal,  
Za baq,  
Cham cham,  
Tatil,  
7300 Q'an abah, 7300  
Tzikovil koh,  
Tzikovil balam,  
Holom pich,  
Keh,  
Macutax,  
T'ot' tatam,  
Q'uz,  
Buz,  
Kax'e,  
7310 On, 7310  
Chiyom,  
Aztapulul.  
R onohel q'u k e qam ri x e petik  
Ta x ki qam ula ri ch aqa palo \*  
U tz'ibal Tulan,  
U tz'ibal.  
X e ch'a chi r e k okinak ch u pam \*  
Ch u pam ki tzih.\*

## LXXI

Kate puch ta x e 'ulik chiri  
7320 Ch u vi ki tinamit Haka Vitz u bi. 7320

Of the lordships today.  
So then they had gone back again  
And they went to get the signs  
At the mud houses,  
The tall houses  
Which are limed,  
Which are plastered now.  
Then came also  
Big drums and jade  
And rattle ornaments and gems  
And shields and silver,  
The things of our shrines,  
Our thrones.

\* \* \* \* \*  
And placed over the heads of the Captain  
And Counsellor  
The panther claws,  
The jaguar claws,  
Which are called  
The signs of lordship.

(lines 379-402, 459-84, 971-6)

The survival of special clothing for different ranks in 20th-century Chichicastenango and Totonicapán is suggested by Bunzel (1952, pp. 63, 193).

7314. BX have *ka* for *qam*.

7317. FX reads *okikan* 'enough' for *okinak* 'entry'.

7318. SJ has *ch u pan* (*ch u pan*); the MS has *pan* for *pam*.

*The Fourth Creation*

And there all the Branches gathered,  
The Seers assembled.  
All the tribes rejoiced  
At the return of Chief Two,  
Chief Acutec  
And Chief Lord.  
Only back there  
Did they take the lordship of the Tribes.  
There rejoiced  
The Rabinals,  
The Fire Trees,  
The Bird House People,  
Just that the signs were shown

7330

Chiri q'ut x e kuch vi r onohel Tamub,  
Ilokab x e kuchu k ib.  
R onohel amaq' x e kikitik  
Ta x e 'ulik Qo Kaib,  
Qo Acutec,  
Qo Ahav.\*  
Xa vi chiri chik  
X ki qam vi k ahavarem amaq'.  
X e kikitik  
E Rabinaleb,  
E Q'aq' Chekeleb,  
Ah Tz'ikina Haa.  
Xa r etal x k'utun

7330

7326. The Lineage of the Lords of Totonacapan has a parallel account of the visit to Nacxit:

Having conquered the enemies  
And won peace,  
Jaguar Quiche said,  
"It is time to send ambassadors  
To our father,  
And lord, Nacxit,  
So that he will know the state of our affairs  
And give us means so that in the future  
Our enemies will not conquer us  
And will not demean the nobility of our  
birth.  
So that he will design honors for us  
And for all our descendants,  
And lastly send titles  
For those who deserve them.  
When this decision was approved by the other  
chiefs,  
They tried to elect persons  
Worthy of such a mission,  
And by a plurality of votes there were elected  
Chief Two  
And Chief Kinsmen,  
Both sons of Jaguar Quiche.  
And when they had received their instruc-  
tions,  
Chief Two went towards the east  
And Chief Kinsmen went towards the west.  
Chief Two followed his road,  
Overcoming dangers and completing his  
mission,  
Chief Kinsmen ran into difficulties on the banks  
of the lake of Mexico  
And returned without doing anything.  
Later in a weak moment he seduced his sister-in-  
law,  
The wife of Chief Two.  
Under these circumstances there arrived at Fire  
Peak Chipal  
The news that Chief Two was approaching,  
Loaded with titles  
And honors.  
The news depressed Chief Kinsmen,  
Who said,  
"It would be better if I had gone and hung myself  
On the road coming back  
So that when the lord Chief Two returns

We would not have to know the conse-  
quences of what I have done."  
Chief Two returned  
And reported on his mission.  
He brought the titles Counsellor,  
Mason,  
Lineage Head,  
And many others.  
He showed the signs  
Which should distinguish the ranks,  
And they were claws of jaguars  
And eagles,  
Skins of other animals  
And also stones,  
Staffs,  
Et cetera.  
The chiefs congratulated Chief Two  
And accompanied him to his house.  
When he saw the baby born in his absence  
He said to his wife,  
"Whose is this baby?  
Where did it come from?"  
"It is of thy blood,"  
Replied the woman,  
"Of thy flesh  
And of thine own bone."  
"If that is so, I am far from hating it.  
I shall rather cover it with honors."  
And Chief Two took the child's cradle  
And said,  
"From now on this child will be called  
Jaguar Chief Imitator."  
This began  
The trunk of the house  
Of those of Chief Imitator  
And White Life.

Bunzel (1952, p. 127) quotes from Las Casas an illuminating comment on the absence of sexual jealousy among the Quiche: "Husbands, if they believed their wives had betrayed them, and if they knew who was the adulterer, would not denounce them, but they would take a bird of the kind they used for sacrifices, and give it to the woman and her lover and tell them that they should sacrifice it at a certain temple and there confess according to their style of confession. And thus the injured one was satisfied, and they regarded as a holy person one who was content with such vengeance."

For them to see them,  
 The greatness of the lordship.  
 And again great was their essence.  
 It was lasting.  
 It did not stop  
 After they had shown the lordship.  
 And that was  
 When they were there  
 At Fire Peak.  
 But with them were all those who went to the  
 sunrise.  
 And then for a long time they worked  
 There,  
 On top of the mountain.  
 They were many again,  
 All of them.  
 And there died the wives  
 Of Jaguar Quiche,  
 Jaguar Night  
 And Nought.  
 Then they came away.  
 They abandoned again  
 Their mountain;  
 Another mountain they sought.  
 There they prospered.  
 On innumerable mountains they prospered.  
 Then they designated it  
 And then they named it.  
 There they piled up together  
 And endured,

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7350

7360

Chi ki vach ri  
 U nimal ahavarem.  
 Nim chik ki q'ohayik  
 Ch uxik amaq'.\*  
 Ma nabe x k'iz  
 Ta ki k'ut k ahavarem.  
 Are  
 E q'o chiri  
 Haka Vitz.  
 Xa q'o k uq r onohel ri x pe r elebal q'ih.  
 Naht chi q'ut x ki ban \*  
 Chiri  
 Ch u vi huyub.  
 E k'i chik  
 Chi k onohel.  
 Chiri q'ut x e kam vi k ixoqil  
 Balam Kitze,  
 Balam Aqab,  
 Mahuq'utah.  
 Ta x e petik,  
 X k okotah chi kan ok  
 Ri ki huyubal \*  
 Hun chi huyub x ki tzukuh.  
 Are k e tiqe vi.\*  
 Ma vi 'ahilan huyub x e tiqe vi.\*  
 Ta x e q'obik,\*  
 Ta x e biinah puch  
 Chiri x e molomanik,\*  
 X e ch'ihomanik

7340

7350

7360

7337. BB says 'of the tribes' but the scansion forces the construal I have made.

7344. FX reads 'they went a long way', which is not textual and is narratively premature.

7355. BB have *huyub*.

7357-8. FX reads 'plant' for 'prosper' as in line 7047.

7358. The MS has *ahilam*. The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan carefully numbers 22 stops on the migrations from Storm to Beard, though none of the names corresponds to any of those mentioned in the Popol Vuh.

There in those mountains they raised houses  
 And stayed for some time.  
 Later they all met at Storm  
 And leaving there  
 They came to a settlement they called Qibaki Ha  
 There they stayed for some time,  
 Always carrying with them the gift of Nacxit  
 And suffering want.  
 They abandoned that settlement  
 And came to the one they called Hunger,  
 Doubtless because of the famine they suffered  
 For they had to strip trees to support them-  
 selves there.  
 They made big hamlets.

They left there and came to Two Houses  
 below Broken Branches.  
 There they raised some buildings  
 And stayed for some time.  
 The fifth stop [omitted]

They came to the settlement of Rolled Limestone  
 There they spent several days.  
 From Rolled Limestone to pam Bilil pan Tzokan.  
 There they stopped for some time,  
 Supporting themselves on wasp eggs  
 And beetles.  
 The eighth stop they called Tikah Chalib.  
 They built houses.  
 From Tikah Chalib they went to Tiba Tzi.  
 They built houses and suffered a terrible  
 windstorm.

The tenth place they called 5 Jaguar;  
 At Yellow Earth they spent some time.  
 The twelfth place they called Yam Rimba.

The remaining 10 stops occur in the passage quoted in the note to line 7412.

7359-60. Omitted by FX.

7361-2. BB and SJ have *chi r e ri x e molomanik*. BB translates 'to augment and extend their power'.

*The Fourth Creation*

Those first mothers of ours,  
 Those first fathers of ours,  
 As the former people said  
 When they spoke of it.  
 So they deserted  
 And abandoned  
 Their first town  
 Called Fire Peak.  
 And they came on there  
 And planted again  
 A town  
 Called Thorns.  
 For a long time they made it there  
 Over one division of the town.  
 They had daughters  
 And they had sons.  
 They became many there then.  
 There were four mountains there,  
 But one became  
 The name of its town.  
 They married off their daughters.  
 Their sons they just gave away,  
 Just as a favor,  
 And just out of respect they did it.  
 The price of their daughters they received,  
 But good was their existence while they did it.  
 Then they passed there  
 Each division in its town.  
 These then  
 Are their names:  
 Thorns,  
 Dry,  
 Bark River,  
 Boundary,  
 Empty,  
 The names of the mountains they stayed on.  
 And there they divined over the mountain  
 And their town,  
 To receive the mountain they sought.  
 And there were many more in all.  
 But then it was there died  
 Those who had brought the lordship from the  
 sunrise.

7374. The location of *chi Q'ix* is unknown, though there is a place with that name near San Bartolome.

7375-82. The BX text repeats these lines.

7379. The MS has *chiriqueco tacvi*.

7389. BX omit *ch u vi*.

7391. FX has *Fac* for *taq*.

7394. The location of *chi Chaq* is unknown, though *pa Chaq* is a place near Rabinal and *pa Chageh* is a place

E nabe qa chuch,  
 E nabe qa qahav.  
 X e ch'a oher tak vinaq  
 Ta x ki tzihoh,  
 Ta x ki toloba pu  
 Kanah ok  
 Nabe ki tinamit,  
 Haka Vitz u bi.  
 Ta x e 'ul chi q'u chiri  
 X ki tikilibeh chik  
 Hun tinamit  
 Chi Q'ix u bi.\*  
 Naht chi x ki ban chiri \*  
 Ch u vi hu ch'ob tinamit.  
 K e mialanik,  
 K e q'aholanik puch.  
 Chiri k'iy e q'o tak vi.\*  
 Are tak kahi huyub va.  
 Xa hun x ch ok vi  
 U bi ri ki tinamit.  
 X ki q'uluba ki mial,  
 Ki q'ahol xa k'i chi ki zipah.  
 Xa toq'obanik,  
 Xa pu mayihanik chi ki bano.  
 R ahil ki mial chi ki qamo.  
 Xa 'utz ki q'oheyik x ki bano.  
 Ta x e 'iq'ov chiri ch u vi \*  
 Hu tak ch'ob chi tinamit.  
 Va tak \*  
 U bi:  
 E chi Q'ix,  
 Chi Chaq,\*  
 Humeta Ha,\*  
 Kuluba,\*  
 Kavinal,\*  
 U bi huyub x e yaluh vi.  
 Are q'ut ka ki nik' vachih ri huyub,  
 Ki tinamit puch.  
 Ulah huyub ka ki tzukuh  
 E q'u k'i chik chi k' onohel.  
 Xa q'u kaminak ok \*  
 Ri qamol ahavarem r elebal q'ih

near San Bartolome. FX has *chi Chat*.

7395. The location of *Humeta Ha* is unknown.

7396. Location unknown; *ch u vi Q'ulibal* is near Patzite; *pa Q'ulubat* is near Santa Cruz Quiche.

7397. *Qavinal* is a place near Cubulco; FX has *Rabinal*.

7403. BB and SJ read *ca* for *q'u*.

They were already respected grandfathers when they  
came there

To the separate towns.

Their face was not received,

So they passed on.

Indeed many there were demons,

Jealous of what they did.

After a long time then they found

Their town,

E mamaxel chik x e 'ul chiri

Ch u vi huhun tinamit.\*

Ma na x u qam ki vach

Ri x e 'iq'ov vi.

He tak vi 'ulok q'axiqol,\*

Rayil x ki bano.

Q'a 'u naht x ki riq vi

Ki tinamit \*

7410

7410

7406. BX have *hun* for *huhun*.

7409-10. BX has 'they went through many sorrows  
and trials'.

7412. The life of Chief Sweatbath apparently spans  
the end of the migrations and the founding of Beard.  
The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan says:

From Yam Rimba they came to the one they later  
called

At their Sweatbath,

Because they learned

There lived a man

Whom they had in fact found

Hunting quail.

Being surprised by the lords,

He said,

"Don't kill me

Or do anything to me."

"What is your name,

And what are you doing here?"

Said Jaguar Quiche.

And the old man replied,

"They call me Chief Sweatbath,

And I am hunting quail."

"Would you like to join us?

We shall look upon you as a brother."

"I acknowledge with pleasure

The favor you wish to do me,"

Said Chief Sweatbath.

And the lords said,

"Very well,

From now on

You will be our brother

And companion.

You will have the place

And all the honors and prerogatives

Of Wind Jaguar

Who has died on these migrations,

And you will be the companion

Of Nought."

He was recognized as such by all

And thus was completed the number

Of the four lords

Who came from the sunrise.

There they found a stone

Similar to the one Nacxit gave them.

There in Chief Sweatbath or Tzutu Ha

They remained a long time.

From Chief Sweatbath

They came to Above the Hut.

They built houses

And also stayed a long time.

From Above the Hut

To Yam u Kutu Raxoh

Where want made them eat wasp eggs,

And those of others bugs.

From Yam u Kutu Raxoh

They got to Chil Tzareb.

There they erected houses

And suffered much want,

Although later

They found a way of planting corn

With which they were content,

And stayed a long time.

From that settlement

They came to that of Q'ale Mial Kukur Abah,

A sterile place,

And they suffered

Hunger

And thirst.

From Kukur Abah

They came to the woods at Drum.

There our fathers stayed

For a long time.

From Drum

To that of Worshipping.

They called it that because they used Nacxit's  
stone,

Which they used for their magic.

There they stayed a long time

Under the direction of the four lords.

There they devoted themselves to hunting deer,

Whose blood they offered to the Storm spirit,

And that was where they used their magic

Because of the following event.

They were skinning one of their deer

When two men came by,

From those of the mountains

Whom they met later,

Though they had already met those enemy people

Called the Seven Tribes.

The two men said,

"What are you skinning?

It certainly looks like a companion of ours.

We shall take vengeance."

Our fathers answered,

"Very well, we accept the challenge."

There also appeared a masked man

Who was naturally taken for a spy,

Because he was covered from head to foot

With the ears of a certain animal.

The old enemies Ah Tzalakan

And Ah Tibil Xat took part in the challenge.

Our lords ordered the spies tracked

And they were followed

Until the enemy force was contacted,

*The Fourth Creation*

The honored grandfathers  
And the honored fathers,  
And this is the name of the town  
They came to.

LXXII

Beard is the name of the mountain,  
Of their town where they were.  
And so they settled down  
And there they tried their glory.  
They ground their lime  
And plaster  
In the fourth generation of lords.  
And they were called Chief Imitator  
And 9 Deer,  
Together with the Captain of the Lords.  
And then ruled Lord Chief Sweatbath  
With White Life, the names

Which was dug in  
On a hill which, because of the smoke coming  
out of it,  
Our side called Smoke Hill.  
Warned of this, the spirits went there  
And from their power  
Made two thunderbolts,  
Hail,  
And lightning,  
Which they discharged over the enemy,  
Who, hearing such a terrible noise from our side,  
Fled in fear.  
This was the first time Chief Sweatbath was  
threatened,  
The twentieth stop.  
Having abandoned Chief Sweatbath,  
They arrived at the place they called Bark,  
Because there was an abundance of limestone  
From which they made their houses.  
They found some bananas and birds  
But still they passed many labors in those  
mountains,  
From Bark  
They came to the boundary of Qavinal.  
There too they raised houses  
And made hamlets,  
And it was there  
That they met the Nights, as they are called.  
The latter said to Jaguar Quiche,  
Jaguar Night,  
Nought  
And Chief Sweatbath,  
"You are our grandfathers,  
Our fathers,  
Our lords,"  
They adored the spirits,  
And offered them birds  
And they united.  
At last they arrived at the settlement  
Which they called Beard.

E mamaxel  
E pu qahavixel.  
Va q'u 'u bi tinamit  
X e 'ul vi.\*

LXXII

Chi 'Izuma Chi q'ut \*  
U bi huyub ki tinamit x e q'ohe vi.  
Chi nay puch x e 'amaq'elab vi,  
Chiri q'ut x ki tih vi q'aq'al.  
X q'ah ki chun,  
Ki zahkab  
Ch u kah le 'ok ahavab  
X e ch'a q'u ri Qo Nache \*  
X u Beleheb Keh \*  
R uq puch Q'alel Ahav.\*  
Ta x ahavar q'ut Ahav Qo Tuha \*  
R uq Iztayol ki bi,\*

When this happened the lord,  
Jaguar Quiche,  
Already had many sons  
And grandsons.  
That is, we, the Kaveks  
Had multiplied greatly.  
Likewise the Great-Houses,  
Descendants of Jaguar Night,  
And also the Lord Quiches, sons  
And grandsons of Nought.  
There were proclaimed the titles  
And ranks created by Nacxit.  
That was where was publicly recognized  
Chief Sweatbath  
As ruler  
And lord.

(lines 767-912)

7416. BX omit e.

7417. BB relates the name to *Izmaleh*, a Rabinal surname, adding later (p. 300), "*P'Izmachi*, the ruins of which one still sees to the south of those of Utatlan or Gumarcaah, on a plateau, the cliffs of which communicate with those of that capital." See also note to line 7640.

7424. *Nache* is obscure. I read it *nachel* from *nachah* 'imitate'. If he has a day name, it is probably e 'tooth'. BB has 'they spoke' but the verb is transitive. *Nachi* is a Yucatecan name (Tozzer, 1941, p. 43).

7425. FX has *Beleheb*.

7426. FX has *Zalel-ahan* consistently for the rest of the text, probably a misreading by Scherzer.

7427. *Qo Tuha(1)* or *Qo Tuh A* 'Chief Sweatbath (?Water)'. See note to line 7081. He was probably head of the Sweatbath lineage (note to line 5091), and led that lineage to a position of prominence (note to line 7412), perhaps displacing the White Winds (note to line 7656).

7428. *Iztayol*. Probably from Nahuatl *iztac-yolli* 'white life'. See note to line 3310. The name has a num-

Of the Counsellor		Ah pop,*	
And Step House Counsellor.	7430	Ah pop qam haa.*	7430
They ruled there		X e 'ahavar chiri	
In Beard.		Chi 'Izuma Chi.	
A perfect town it became		Utzilah tinamit x uxik,*	
Which they made,		X ki bano.	
But there were only three great houses there		Xa q'u 'oxib ri nim haa x ux chiri	
At Beard.		Chi 'Izuma Chi.	
There were not yet the twenty four great houses;		Ma ha bi 'ok ri hu vinaq kahib chi nim haa;	
They still had only three great houses.		Xa 'oxib ok ki nim haa.	
Just one of the great houses		Xa hun u nim haa	
Was the Kaveks,	7440	Qavekib.	7440
And just one great house		Xa q'u hun nim haa	
Before the Great-Houses,		Ch u vach Ni-Hayibab.	
And again just one		Xa nay pu hun	
For the Lord Quiche.		R ech Ahav K'iche.	
But there were still only two embracing groups of		Xa ki kaib chi q'u matzil nim haa *	
great houses,			
The two divisions in the town.		Ri ka ch'ob chi tinamit.	
That was when they were at Beard		Are 'e q'o chi 'Izuma Chi	
And their hearts were only one.		Xa hun ki k'ux.	
They had no witchcraft;		Ma ha bi k itzelal,	
They had no bitterness.	7450	Ma pu ha bi ki k'ayeal.	7450
The government		Xa liyanik	
Was just peaceful.		Ahavarem.	
They had no fights,		Ma ha bi ki ch'aoh,	
Or quarrels.		Ki yuhuh puch.	
There was just light		Xa zaq,	
And tranquility in their hearts.		Xa 'amaq' q'o chi ki k'ux.	
There was no sinister staring;		Ma ha bi mox vachinik,*	
There was no red staring		Ma pu ha bi kaq vachinik	
They did.		X ki bano.	
Indeed their glory remained small.	7460	Q'a ch'utin ok ki q'aq'al.	7460
They didn't often get together to destroy then,		Ma ha k'i ka nuq' mayih ok,	
And they didn't grow proud then.		Ma ha pu ka nimar ok.	
And then they tried		Ta x ki tih q'ut	
To excel in shields,		X k iq'ovizah pokob	
There,		Chiri	
At Beard.		Chi 'Izuma Chi.	
And it was a measure of their authority		X r etal q'ut k ahavarem ri	
When they did it.		Ta x ki bano.	
It signalled their glory,		X r etal ki q'aq'al	
And marked their greatness.	7470	R etal nay pu ki nimal.	7470
And when it was seen by the Seers,		Ta x il q'ut r umal Ilokab,	

ber of variant forms in Quiche documents: *xtayul*, *xtayub*, *ixtayul*, etc.

7429-30. FX has '*señores de trono y alfombra*'.

7430. BX have *A(h)*.

7433. FX reads *u tz'ibah* for *utzilah*.

7445. BB and SJ omit *nim haa*; BB translates 'two snakes', commenting that it is a quite rare plural. It is not a plural at all.

7457-60. '*Sin envidia*' says FX tersely.

*The Fourth Creation*

Then war was begun by the Seers.  
 They tried to kill the Lord Chief Sweatbath,  
 And just one lord tried to protect himself.  
 It was the Lord White Life who wanted them to  
 teach him.  
 He wanted to be taught to kill by the Seers.  
 But it didn't go right,  
 Their sinister plan against the Lord Chief  
 Sweatbath.  
 Only later it happened.  
 At first the lord was not killed by the Seers. 7480  
 And thus began the quarrels  
 And wars of jealousy.  
 They penetrated the first town.  
 The warriors came  
 And then what they wanted  
 Was to destroy the face of Quiche.  
 Just to rule by themselves was in their hearts,  
 And it was just for that they came to kill.  
 They were taken prisoner,  
 And they were captured. 7490  
 Not very many of them  
 Were saved.  
 And then began the sacrificing.  
 They sacrificed the Seers before the gods.  
 That then became the payment for their sins  
 By Lord Chief Sweatbath.  
 And many more went into slavery.  
 They were enslaved.  
 And they were made slaves  
 And just went to give themselves up 7500  
 To being knocked around  
 For their concerting war  
 Against the lord  
 And against Canyon Town.  
 To have destroyed,  
 To have crushed the face of the Quiche rulers  
 Was what their hearts wanted.  
 But it didn't happen.  
 And thus was the creation  
 Of the sacrifice of men before the gods, 7510  
 Then were made shields  
 And weapons,  
 The beginning

Ta x vinaqir labal r umal Ilokab.  
 X r ah ul kamizax ok ri 'Ahav Qo Tuha.\*  
 Xa q'u hun ahav x r ah q'u k ib.  
 Are ri 'Ahav Iztayol x r ah ki tihoh.  
  
 X r ah tihox k umal Ilokab chi kamizani.  
 Ma q'u x el apan ok  
 Ki mox vachibal chi r ih Ahav Qo Tuha.  
  
 Xa chi k ih x qah vi.  
 Ma nabe x kam ta ri 'ahav r umal Ilokab.\* 7480  
 Kehe q'ut u xenahik yuhuh  
 Ch'ak'imal labal puch.  
 X k okibeh nabe tinamit  
 X e beek e kamizanel.  
 Are ta q'u x k ah  
 Ri zach ta 'u vach K'iche.  
 Xa ta ki tukel x ahavarik chi ki k'ux,  
 Xa q'u 'are x e 'ul kam ok.  
 X e telecheexik,  
 X e kanabix puch. 7490  
 Ma vi ha rub chik  
 X kolotah chi k e.  
 Ta x tiker q'ut puzunik.  
 X e puz ri 'Ilokab ch u vach kabavil.  
 Are chik tohobal ki mak x uxik  
 R umal Ahav Qo Tuha.  
 K'i chi q'ut x ok chi munil;  
 X e 'alabilaxik  
 X e vinaqix puch  
 Xa x be ki ya k ib 7500  
 Chi ch'akix  
 R umal ki nuk'ubal labal  
 Chi r ih ahav,  
 Chi r ih Zivan Tinamit.\*  
 X mayixik,  
 X q'utux ta 'u vach r ahaval K'iche  
 X r ah ki k'ux.  
 Ma q'u x banatahik.  
 Kehe q'ut u vinaqirik  
 U puzik vinaq ch u vach kabavil.\* 7510  
 Ta x ban ri pokob  
 Labal  
 U xe

7473. BX have *u* for *ul*.

7480. The implication that Iztayol eventually killed Qo Tuha is not confirmed by any other Quiche or Cakchiquel source, but it is credible.

7504. Conceivably a reference to the former site of

Chichicastenango. See lines 7716 and 7747-8.

7510. The MS has *va* for *vach*. BB suggests this was the origin of the public cult, since secret sacrifices are attributed to the First Fathers.

Of the initiation of defense		Ta x tikarik u pokobaxik	
Of the town		Tinamit	
At Beard.		Chi 'Izuma Chi.	
There was the beginning		Chila x tikar vi	
The rooting		U xenahik	
Of glory,		Q'aq'al	
Because it was indeed great,	7520	R umal ri xax nim vi	7520
The lordship		R ahavarem	
Of the Quiche lord.		K'iche 'ahav.	
Everywhere they were spirits		Hu mah e naval	
And lords.		Ahavab.	
There was nothing they humbled,		X ma q'o vi ki yoq'otah vi,	
There was nothing whatever that came to them		X ma q'o vi a la chi nak ch ok chi k e	
That wasn't an agent for the greatness		Xa vi banol r ech nimal	
Of the lordship.		Ahavarem.	
There it was rooted at Beard;		Chiri xenahinak vi chi 'Izuma Chi,	
There it grew, the gods' sacrifice.	7530	Chiri x nimar vi 'u q'ixik kabavil	7530
It remained threatening,		Chi xibin chik	
And all the tribes were afraid.		X u xibih pu r ib r onohel amaq',	
The little tribes,		Ch'uti 'amaq',	
The big tribes		Nima 'amaq'.	
Watched the coming		X ki vachih r okik	
Of the captives.		Teleche vinaq	
Whom they sacrificed,		X ki puzu	
And killed		X ki kamizah	
For their glory,		R umal ki q'aq'al,	
Their majesty,	7540	Ki tepeval	7540
The Lord Chief Sweatbath		Ri 'Ahav Qo Tuha	
And Lord White Life,		Ahav Iztayol *	
Together with the Great-Houses		R uq Ni-Hayibab	
And the Lord Quiche.		Ahav K'iche.	
There were only three divisions in the town		Xa 'ox ch'ob chi tinamit x q'ohe	
There at Beard, as the town was called		Chiri chi 'Izuma Chi u bi tinamit	
Until again there they began feasts		Q'a chiri chi nay puch x ki tikiba vi vaim	
In honor of their daughters.		U qaha chi r ech ki mial.*	
Then they cut up firewood.		Ta x ki ziih ulok.*	
That was the rallying point	7550	Are ki kuchubal k ib	7550
Of the three great houses,		Ri 'oxib chi nim haa	
As they were called by them.		U bi k umal,	
So there they drank their drinks		Chiri q'ut chi k uqah vi k uqia	
And there they ate their food		Chiri puch chi ki veeh vi ki va	
As the price of their sisters,		R ahil k anab	
And the price of their daughters.		R ahil pu mial.	
There was only happiness in their hearts		Xa kikotem chi ki k'ux	
When they did it.		Ta x ki bano.	
They ate;		X e vaik	

7542. The MS has *aha ztayul*. See also note to line 3310.

7548. SJ reads *uq'ah* 'drinking' here.

7549. FX omits the line. Firewood remained a traditional part of the bride price into the 20th century. BB misinterprets it as tribute resin for the temples.

They feasted in their great houses.  
 "It is just our gratitude,  
 And just our clarification  
 Of our sign,  
 Our word,  
 The sign  
 Of our word  
 Over the born females  
 And born males," they said.  
 There was designated then  
 And there they named  
 Their lineages for themselves,  
 And tribes for themselves,  
 Their cities for themselves.  
 "Our mates for ourselves!  
 We the Kaveks,  
 We the Great-Houses,  
 And we the Lord Quiche,"  
 They said,  
 The three towns  
 And three great houses.  
 And for a long time they did that  
 At Beard.  
 Then they found in turn  
 And then they saw  
 Another town.  
 They abandoned in turn the one at Beard.  
 And so they rose up from there  
 And came to the town here.  
 Rotten Cane was the name  
 It was called by the Quiche.  
 Then in turn came the lords,  
 Chief Sweatbath,  
 And Quetzal Serpent

7560 X e 'echa ch u pam ki nim haa.\* 7560  
 "Xa qa qamovaḃal  
 Xa pu qa pakubal  
 Chi r ech q etal  
 Qa tzihel  
 R etal  
 Qa tzih  
 Ch u vi 'ixoq al  
 Achih al," x e ch'a.  
 Chila x q'ob vi 'ulok  
 7570 Chila puch x ki biih vi 7570  
 Ki chinamit k ib  
 U kamaq' k ib \*  
 Ki tikpan k ib  
 "Qa k'ulel q ib  
 Oh Qavikib,  
 Oh Ni-Hayib  
 Oh puch Ahav K'iche,"\*  
 X e ch'a  
 Oxib tinamit,  
 7580 Oxib pu nim haa. 7580  
 Naht q'ut x ki ban chiri  
 Chi 'Izuma Chi.\*  
 Ta x ki riq chik  
 Ta x k il puch  
 Hun chik tinamit.  
 X k okotah chi vi ri chi 'Izuma Chi.  
 Kate puch ta x e yakatah chi 'ulok  
 X e 'ul chiri pa tinamit  
 Q'umarik Ah u bi \*  
 7590 K umal K'iche ch uch'axik. 7590  
 Ta x e 'ul chik ahavab  
 Qo Tuha  
 R uq Q'uq' Kumatz,

7560. The MS has *ocha* for *echa*. BB holds to the MS reading and translates 'painted cups.' The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan says:

Then they began to offer their daughters,  
 Whom they married with certain ceremonies,  
 And jars of white whip.  
 And they had a basket of small avocados,  
 Wild pig shanks,  
 And small tamales wrapped and tied with  
 leaves.  
 These were the gifts  
 And thus the wedding was concluded.  
 (lines 975-82)

7571-4. These have been generally read as verbs, but Quiche is quite precise about verbalizing nouns. Although it is an unusual use of the reflexive, I believe they are all objects of the preceding verb *biih* 'name'. Line 7572 has usually been read *vug amaq' k ib*, but I believe

it should be *r uq (k) amaq' k ib*. Tecpan was in Guatemala a title of a major city. Utatlan, Solola, Iximche, and perhaps others were of this rank. Line 7574 may be read either *k'ulel* 'enemy' or *q'ulel* 'spouse'. In the context the latter seems to me to make more sense.

7577. The MS has *pu* for *puch*.

7582. The Tam Paper says:

While they were there at Beard  
 They saw three suns in one day . . .  
 (lines 97-8)

7589. *Gumarcaah* in the MS and *Cumarcad* in FX, and hard to interpret but for the Nahuatl translation *Utatlan* 'place of cane'. *Q'umarik Ah* is 'rotten cane'. The city was burned (see line 7640 ff.) and moved to the present site of Santa Cruz Quiche before the Popol Vuh was written.

Together with all the lords Who were lamented, And they were the fifth generation of men Under light, Under unity, Under life And creation.		R uq puch r onohel ahavab X r oq'ex ok.* X r o le 'a puch vinaq U xe zaq U xe 'amaq' U xe k'azilem Vinaqirem.	
And there they made their houses, And there too they made the house of the gods. In the middle Of the top of the town they put it. Then they came And then they stopped abruptly. And then again increased Their lordship.	7600	Chiri q'ut k'i x ki ban vi k ochoch. Chiri nay puch x ki ban vi r ochoch kabavil. Ch u niq'ahal U vi tinamit x ki ya vi. Ta x e 'ulik Ta x ki tiqilibeh puch. Kate puch u nimarik chik K ahavarem E k'i chik,*	7600
They were many more; They were crowds more, For they created more: Many great houses. They were assembled, And they were divided up, Because their fights had started; They saw red at each other Over the price of their sisters, The price of their daughters, And because they didn't have dishes And drinks before them.	7610	E pu tzatz chik Ta x ki naohih chik, K'i nim haa.* X e moloxik, X e hachahox puch R umal x vinaqir ki ch'aoh. X e kaq vachin chi k ib Ch u vi r ahil k anab R ahil ki mial, R umal xa ma vi chi tzaqon K uqia chi ki vach	7610
And so that was the reason again For dividing themselves, For they had turned on each other, Turning angry Over the bones And skulls of the dead. They became angry at each other. So they divided The nine of them in the town, And still had quarrels	7620	Are chi q'ut u xe chik Ki hachovik k ib. Ta x ki tzolobeh k ib Tzol k'ak'abeh Baq U holom kaminak X ki k'ak'abeh k ib. Ta x ki pax Ri beleh tak chi tinamit X banom ok u ch'aohil	7620
Over sisters And daughters. When the decision of the lordship was made There came to be twenty four great houses. And formerly then they all used to come here At the head of their towns. Then they completed	7630	Anab Mial. Ta x ban u naohixik ahavarem Hu vinaq kahib chi nim haa x uxik. X oher ok k e 'ulik k onohel chiri Ch u vi ki tinamit.* Ta x e tz'aqat	7630

7595. FX omits lines 7595, 7597-8, 7605-6, 7610-2, 7617, and *tzaqon* in 7619.

7609. BB omits *e*.

7612. BX have *na* for *nim*.

7636. That is, the heads of the 24 leading lineages

brought into Quiche their contingents of priests on temporary religious duty, but they were living outside the city. Unlike *amaq'*, which may mean either 'town' or 'tribe', *tinamit* means only 'town'.

*The Fourth Creation*

Twenty four great houses

Here

In the town of Rotten Cane.

It was blessed

By the Lord Bishop,

The town,

After it had been deserted.

They fired it

And it had been devastated.

Their benches,

Their pillows

Appeared scattered

Everywhere in the fire.

Each of the lords

7640

7650

Hu vinaq kahib nim haa \*

Chiri

Pa tinamit Q'umarik Ah.\*

X utzirizaxik

R umal Señor Obispo \*

Ri tinamit

Q'a x tole kan ok.

X e q'aq'ar chiri

X nuk' mayihinak ok.

Ki tem

Ki ch'akat

X hachahox ki vach \*

Hu tak vi chi q'aq'.

Huhun chi 'ahavab \*

7640

7650

7638. BB has *vinaqe*.

7640. FX describes the city, in part no doubt as it was in the early 18th century:

"These buildings were constructed on a hill which is entirely surrounded by a great canyon, leaving only one side through which this hill communicates with the rest of the land; but this entrance is very narrow. On the plane which the hill forms at the top there are constructed around the area and so as to form little squares the 24 great houses mentioned, of the lords. Each one is like a large room, elevated about two yards (*varas*) of earth fill above the level of the soil. This room formed its own corridor, and the whole was covered with straw thatch because they had not attained the use of tile. On these little squares were held the great dances which they had on their festivals. In the middle of one of these little squares there rose a tower of fill, which goes on up in a sort of pyramidal form, square, having on each of its four faces its stairways and at the corners sort of a support or bastion, also diminishing as it goes up. The steps are very thin and narrow so that it is frightening to climb them, because each stairway must have 30 or 40 of them, all made of stone. On the top is placed the idol which is called *Tohil*, and there was made over it a covering of straw, supported by pillars of the same stonework. On the left as we leave this tower there rises next to it a great wall about two yards wide and about a yard and a half high; and on the top there rises another wall of about three quarter thickness and the same two yards wide, which is the thickness of the cement, and about three yards high, and this is full of holes, having been made that way, and what it indicates is that there was tied the person who was to be sacrificed, he being tightly tied, thongs being passed through those holes, and thus tied he faced where the idol was, and opening him cruelly through the ribs they took out his heart, which was what they offered to the idol, preserving its natural heat. This tower dominates all the courtyards and little squares formed by the houses and thus from everywhere the idol was seen. Next to this big tower it makes a sort of large tank, having its edges thick with stone, with the

battlements or pyramids which entirely surround it. They are quite wide so that many people can fit on them, who used to watch the ball games that were held there, which were the entertainment of the kings and the other lords; all this building, where the houses didn't cluster, was closed off from a hill made of stone which was called *tz'alam q'ox tum*, that is, rampart, and thus are called all of this kind of buildings because in many parts, or most, besides being the house of the idol this was like a castle or fortress in which they defended themselves, and thus it was constructed on the heights of the hills." (Pp. 104-5.)

BB visited it in the 19th century and noted (pp. 312-3): "... there was only one entrance for this large city, the one by which one still gets in today. On another plateau, to the north of Utatlan, are the ruins of *Ilocab*, with an entrance of their own, and to the south that of *Ixmachi*, which one may enter only by a road which is also its own." BB gives the ancient city 300,000 people (p. 345), which is probably ten times too many even if the immediate vicinity and adjacent cantons be included.

BX read *q'umer* for *q'umar* in this line.

7642. Francisco Marroquín (1499-1563), first bishop of Guatemala. Utatlan was burned in 1524 by Alvarado and the Counsellor and Step House Counsellor were either burned or hanged (sources disagree). FX and BB miss the reference to the fire, the former translating 'and there they grew great and there they assembled their thrones and seats, and they divided themselves, each in his grandeur'. BB's reading is quite similar. This line is the first Spanish in the text since line 46. Marroquín visited and blessed Santa Cruz Quiche in 1539 according to AR (p. 29).

7649. BX have *hachatzox*.

7651. The MS has *huhun chi ahavab beleheb tac chi chinamit xucolela rib beleheb chi ahavab (beleheb tac chi chinamit xucolela rib beleheb chi chinamit) chi ahavab caviquib*. The part in parentheses is crossed out. The first occurrence of *xucolela* is also crossed out and written over. I have dropped the repetition of *chi*

Of the nine lineages settled around:  
 Nine lords of the Kaveks,  
 Nine lords of the Great-Houses,  
 Four lords of the Lord Quiche,  
 And two lords of the White Winds.  
 They became many,  
 And many more too, under each lord.  
 But the first was he who had born  
 And engendered sons. 7660  
 Many,  
 Many were the lineages of each of the lords.  
 We shall tell  
 The names of the lords,  
 One by one,  
 With each great house.

## LXXIII

These then are the names of the lords before the  
 Kaveks;  
 This is the first lord then:  
 Counsellor,  
 Step House Counsellor, 7670  
 The Storm priest,  
 The Quetzal Serpent priest,  
 The Great Chairman of the Kavek,  
 The Councilman in the Chair,  
 The Overseer of Cotton and Bean Stores,  
 The Councilman at the Ball Court Walls,  
 The Mother of the Step House.

*ahavab* before the last word as also repetitive and not parallel to the following line.

7655. The MS has *cahi* for *kahib*.

7656. The relative unimportance of the White Wind lineage is doubtless responsible for the weakening of its putative ancestor, Wind Jaguar, and its god, *Niq'ah Tak'ah*, throughout the text. BX says the lineage belonged to the family of Chief Sweatbath, but there is a separate Sweatbath lineage (*Tuhala Haa*). It seems clear that this lineage was an immediate rival to the White Winds and may even have replaced it for a time. See note to line 7412.

7661. BX omit this line.

7666. FX has *da* for *haa*.

7673. The root is *ch'okoh* 'sit', a repeated reference in Quiche titles. FX has *canec* for *Qavek*.

7674. The root is *t'uyuh* 'sit'.

7675. *Lol* is obscure, perhaps *ilol* 'seer'. *Met* is 'cotton' (though *mect* is 'wild tobacco'). The Origin of the Lords of Zapotitlan says in a remarkable passage:

This Chief Two engendered *Keh Nay*  
 And five other sons,  
 Who were provided by this king as governors.

Beleheb tak chi chinamit x u k'olela r ib:  
 Beleheb chi 'ahavab Qavekib  
 Beleheb chi 'ahavab Ni-Hayibab  
 Kahib chi 'ahav Ahav K'iche \*  
 Kaib chi 'ahav Zaq Iq'ib.\*  
 K'iya tak x uxik  
 K'i chi nay puch chi r ih huhun ahavab.  
 Xa u nabe ri q'o chi vi r al  
 U q'ahol. 7660  
 Tzatz \* 7660  
 Tzatz u chinamital huhun chi 'ahavab.  
 Chi qa biih  
 Ki be ri 'ahavab  
 Ch u huhunal,  
 Huhun u nim haa.\*

## LXXIII

Vae q'ute ki bi 'ahavab ch u vach Qavekib.

Are nabe 'ahav va:  
 Ah Pop,  
 Ah Pop Qam Haa, 7670  
 Ah Tohil,  
 Ah Q'uh' Kumatz,  
 Nim Ch'okoh Qavek,\*  
 Popol Vinaq chi T'uy,\*  
 Lol Met Keh Nay,\*  
 Popol Vinaq pa Hom Tzalat,\*  
 U Chuch Qam Haa.\*

Hence until the Spaniards came  
 The kings had this name of *Keh Nay*  
 Because it is like "Caesars" among the  
 natives. (lines 105-10)

*Keh* is 'deer' but may also be 'put aside' or 'fence'; *q'eeh* is 'lay across' and *qeh* is 'order' or 'pour'. *Nay* is 'bean'. WC cites Cakchiquel *lol* 'hope' and reads 'hope-bringer-sun (or -deer)'. BB has 'minister of tributes.'

Tozzer (1941, p. 200) distinguishes three species of Yucatecan cotton: *Gossypium herbaceum*, *G. hirsutum*, and *G. barbadense*. The Quiche call cotton *bob* or *met*, though species remain unidentified. Cordage yarn was made from maguey fiber (*q'aam*; *ix k'ako*). The staple item of tribute in the first years after the conquest were bolts (*mantas*) of cotton cloths (3 spans wide and 16 *varas* long). This was likely true before the conquest as well.

7676. The root is *tzalatsoh* 'lean, cant', apparently a reference to the slope of the ball-court walls.

7677. The title is reminiscent of *cihuacoatl* 'serpent woman', the second rank in the Aztec priesthood and government. It may be significant therefore that this title is omitted later and replaced by *Tepev Yaqui*

LXXIV

And these are the lords who were before the  
Kaveks:  
Nine lords with their several great houses placed  
around,  
Whose face can still be seen. 7680

LXXV

And these next are the lords before the Great-Houses;  
This is the first lord, then:  
The Lord Captain,  
Lord Nobleman,  
Captain Step House,  
Great Step House,  
Mother of the Step House,  
Great Chairman of the Great-Houses,  
(The priest of) Lord Jaguar,  
Director of the Lineage Heads of 7690  
Nobility,  
The Great Overseer of Cotton and Giver of Flowers.  
Nine lords then before the Great-Houses.

LXXVI

And these next are the Lord Quiche then;  
These are the lords' names:  
Nobleman,  
Lord Overseer of Cotton,  
Lord Great Chairman of the Lords,  
Lord Fire Peak.  
Four lords before the Lord Quiches,  
With their great houses placed around. 7700

LXXVII

And there were two lineages more too,  
The White Wind lords:  
Dripping House  
And Captain White Wind.  
There was just one great house  
For these two lords.

LXXIV

Are q'ut ahavab ri ch u vach Qavekib:  
Beleheb chi 'ahavab k'olohe 'u nim haa ch u  
huhunal,\*  
Kate chik chi vachin u vach. 7680

LXXV

Are chi q'u 'ahavab va ch u vach Ni-Hayibab;  
Are nabe 'ahav va:  
Ahav Q'alel,\*  
Ahav Ah Tzik Vinaq,  
Q'alel Qam Haa,\*  
Nima Qam Haa,  
U Chuch Qam Haa,  
Nim Ch'okoh Ni-Hayibab,  
Avilix,  
Yakolatam u Tzam Pop Zaq Latol,\* 7690  
Nima Lol Met Yeol Tux.\*  
Beleheb q'ut chi 'ahavab ch u vach Ni-Hayibab.

LXXVI

Are chi q'ut Ahav K'iche va;  
Vae ki bi 'ahavab:  
Ah Tzik Vinaq,  
Ahav Lol Met,  
Ahav Nim Ch'okoh Ahav (K'iche),\*  
Ahav Haka Vitz.  
Kahib ahavab ch u vach Ahav K'icheeb  
K'olehe 'u nim haa. 7700

LXXVII

Kaib chinamit chi nay puch,  
Zaq Iq'ib ahavab:  
Tz'utu Haa,  
Q'alel Zaq Iq'.  
Xa hun chi nim haa  
E kaib chi 'ahavab

'Mexican Majesties'. See note to line 8458. BB has 'major-domo in chief'.

7679. BB adds 'whose title will be explained again later', which is not in the text.

7683. *Q'alel* is probably from *q'alah* 'clear'; it is a substantival and agentive inflection: 'clearer'. It is used as the title for any head of a substantial lineage, town, army, etc., but *the* Captain was the head of the Great-Houses lineage. *Ah kulel* was a Yucatecan title (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 55, 63).

7685. FX has *cale cambia*.

7690. *Yakolatam* is presumably from *yakoh* 'raise, prepare, give directions'. *Yak* is a particle used in counting tribute. The inflection is agentive (*-ol*), inceptive (*-at*) and completive (*-am*). *Zaq Latol* may be *zaqilatol* from *zaq* 'white'. The inflection would be abstractive (*-il*), inceptive (*-at*) and agentive (*-ol*), hence perhaps 'brightener'.

7691. FX has *ycol* for *yeol*.

7697. BB supplies *K'iche*.

## LXXVIII

So thus are completed twenty four lords  
 And twenty four also were the great houses.  
 Then increased the glory  
 And majesty in Quiche.  
 Then was glorified;  
 Then was magnified  
 The greatness,  
 The importance of Quiche.  
 Then was limed  
 And then was plastered the Canyon Town.  
 The little tribes came  
 And the great tribes, and the lord had a name.  
 Quiche grew proud  
 When there was created  
 Glory  
 And majesty.  
 Then was created the house of the gods  
 And also the houses of the lords,  
 But it was not they who did it;  
 They didn't work,  
 And they didn't make their houses,  
 And the reason they didn't make their god's house  
 Was because they squeezed their born  
 And engendered sons.  
 It was not just that they begged them;  
 They were just stolen  
 And broken.  
 Truly they belonged to the lords severally.  
 And many were their older brothers  
 And younger brothers.  
 Life was highly directed,  
 And highly directed too were the words of  
 command of each lord.

7708. The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan also  
 has an account of the titles:

That was where was publicly recognized  
 Chief Sweatbath  
 As ruler  
 And lord,  
 Being granted the titles of Counsellor  
 And Step House Counsellor,  
 And there also was given  
 The title Step House Counsellor  
 To White Life,  
 Son of Chief Imitator.  
 The ranks there were to be in the state  
 According to the instructions of Nacxit  
 Were those of  
 Counsellor,  
 Mason,  
 Lineage Head,  
 Bench Captain,  
 Knight,

## LXXVIII

Kehe q'ut x tz'akat vi hu vinaq kahib chi 'ahavab  
 Hu vinaq kahib nay puch chi nim haa x uxik.\*  
 Ta x nimarik q'aq'al  
 Tepeval pa K'iche.  
 Ta x q'aq'arik,  
 Ta x tepevarik  
 U nimal  
 R alal K'iche.  
 Ta x chunaxik  
 Ta x zahkabix puch Zivan Tinamit.  
 Nima 'amaq', q'o q'ut u bi 'ahav.  
 X ul ch'uti 'amaq'  
 X nimarizan K'iche  
 Ta x vinaqirik  
 Q'aq'al  
 Tepeval.  
 Ta x vinaqirik r ochoch kabavil  
 K ochoch nay pu 'ahavab.  
 Ma nay pu 'are x e banovik;  
 Ma vi x e chakun tah  
 Ma pu x ki ban ta k ochoch,  
 Ma nay pu xa ta x ki ban r ochoch ki kabavil  
 Xa r umal x e q'irik k al  
 Ki q'ahol.  
 Ma na xa ki bochi  
 Xa ta pu k eleq'  
 Ki q'upun ta puch.  
 Qitzih vi chi k ech ahavab chi ki huhunal.  
 Tzatz nay puch k atz  
 Ki ch'ak' x uxik.  
 X molomoxik u q'ohayik \*  
 X molomox nay puch u t'aabal u tzih hun chi  
 'ahavab.

Delegate,  
 Great Chairman of the Bench,  
 Snake Captain,  
 House Delegate,  
 Great Collector of the Bench,  
 Storm Priest,  
 Chairman,  
 Mat Head,  
 House Director,  
 And Mat Collector of the House.  
 All these titles  
 And ranks  
 Had their insignia  
 And these were claws  
 Of jaguars,  
 Panthers,  
 Eagles,  
 Et cetera.

(lines 909-42)

7737-8. FX translates 'and then they came together  
 and piled up to hear what each of the lords ordered'.

*The Fourth Creation*

Truly then they were adored, And truly great was the rank of the lords. 7740 It was magnified And respected, The day, And birth of the lords By their born And engendered sons. So the people of the canyon grew And the people of the town also with them. Not only were there many then, But all the tribes came to give themselves up. 7750 And when war Fell upon The canyon, The town, Then by their magic The lords triumphed, The Lord Quetzal Serpent And Lord Chief Sweatbath. Truly it was a spirit lord That Quetzal Serpent became. 7760 For a week he climbed up to heaven, And for a week he went to make the descent to Hell, And again for a week he became a serpent; He actually changed into a serpent. And again for a week he made himself into an eagle; For a week again into a jaguar. Truly like an eagle, Or a jaguar his appearance became. For a week again he became a puddle of blood; All by himself he became a pool of blood. 7770 Truly that of a spirit lord Was his essence. There was fear before him by all the lords; They were afraid Of the orders He commanded, All the lords And tribes. His essence Was a spirit lord. 7780 And this was the beginning And growth of Quiche When the lord Quetzal Serpent did it As a sign	Qitzih vi chi 'e loq Qitzih puch chi nim ki q'alem ahavab. 7740 Nimatalik Kovatal puch U q'ih R alaxik ahavab R umal r al U q'ahol. Ta x k'iyarik ah zivan Ah tinamit r uq nay puch. Ma na xa ta k'i Kehe x ul ki ya k ib r onohel amaq'. 7750 Q'a labal q'ut X qah vi U zivan U tinamit Q'a r umal ki naval Ahavab x e q'aq'arik, Ri 'Ahav Q'uq' Kumatz Ahav Qo Tuha. Qitzih chi naval ahav Ri Q'uq' Kumatz x uxik. 7760 Hu vuq ch aqan chi kah,* Hu vuq q'ut chi be 'u bana qah ok chi Xibalba,  Hu vuq chi q'ut chi q'ohe chi kumatzil. Qitzih chi kumatz ch uxik. Hu vuq chi nay puch ch u ban ok chi kotal,* Hu vuq chik chi balamil. Qitzih vi chi kot, Chi balam u vachibal ch uxik. Hu vuq chik chi r emeyik chi kiq'el. U tukel r emanik kiq' ch uxik. 7770 Qitzih chi naval Ahav u q'oheyik. Xibix ib ch u vach r umal r onohel ahavab X paxin r ib U t'aik X u t'a R onohel ahavab Amaq'. U q'oheyik Naval ahav. 7780 Are q'ut u tikarik U nimarik puch K'iche Ta x u ban Ahav Q'uq' Kumatz R etal
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7761. *Hu vuq* 'one seven'.

7765. The MS has *o* for *ok*, an interpretation coerced by the utterance terminal significance of *-o*.

Of greatness.  
 Not forgotten was the face of his grandson  
 Or his son in his heart.  
 Perhaps there was nothing that he did  
 That was real.  
 For one lord,  
 Magic then,  
 Was his essence.  
 He was just a humiliation for all the tribes  
 When he did it.  
 It was just a display of himself,  
 From which really one result was  
 That he became the head of the tribes.  
 The fourth generation of lords  
 Was the spirit lord  
 Named Quetzal Serpent.  
 And just by himself  
 He was Counsellor  
 And Step House Counsellor.  
 And there remained their signs,  
 Their words.  
 They were glorified  
 And they were magnified,  
 And when they engendered sons in turn  
 Then many were their sons.  
 So many more were made.  
 And there were engendered  
 Mountain Prince  
 And White Life  
 And just performed the lordship  
 And became the fifth generation of lords.  
 Only they engendered  
 Another generation of lords.

## LXXIX

So these are the names next  
 Of the sixth generation of lords.  
 Both were great lords;  
 They were glorious.  
 Blood was the name of one lord;  
 8 Monkey was the name of the other.

7797. BB reads *keik* for *k'izik*.

7802. Literally, 'only really'. The implication is, however, as given, which is confirmed by close study of the king lists and was recognized by FX.

7810. BB and SJ have *ka* for *k'iya*.

7823. *Kiq'ab*, literally 'bloods', is a Mam day name (*kikap*) corresponding to the Quiche *nooh* and Nahuatl *ollin*. BB reads *E Gag Quicab* as the name of the king, which is poetically impossible. FX reads *Zacquicab* here

Nimal.  
 X ma zachel u vach u mam  
 U q'ahol ch u k'ux.  
 Ma ha bi 'a ta la x ban vi  
 Ri x q'ohe.  
 Ta hun ahav  
 Naval ta  
 U q'oheyik.  
 Xa yoq'obal r ech r onohel amaq'  
 Ta x u bano.  
 Xa 'u k'utubal r ib  
 R umal xere hu k'izik \*  
 U holom amaq' x uxik.  
 U kah le 'ahav  
 Ri naval ahav  
 Q'uq' Kumatz u bi.  
 Xa vi xere \*  
 Ah Pop  
 Ah Pop Qam Haa.  
 X kanah chi q'ut k etal  
 Ki tzihel.  
 X e q'aq'arik  
 X e tepevar puch.  
 Ta x e q'aholan chi q'ut  
 K'iya ki q'ahol q'ut.\*  
 Tzatz chik x u bano.  
 X q'aholax  
 Ri Tepepul  
 Iztayol.  
 Xa ki 'ahavarem x u bano  
 R o le 'ahav x uxik.  
 Xa vi x e q'aholanik  
 Hu tak le chi 'ahavab.

## LXXIX

Va chi q'ute ki bi chik  
 U vaq le 'ahav.  
 E kaib chi nimaq ahavab,  
 E q'aq'.  
 Kiq'ab u bi hun ahav,\*  
 Cahuizimah u bi hun chik,\*

and keeps that name for him throughout. The MS gives his name once as *Quigab* (line 7851), which helps to confirm the derivation I have suggested.

7824. Possibly from Nahuatl *chicueozomatl* 'eight monkey'. In Quiche this would be *vahxaqib baatz'*, the day which initiates the *chol q'ih* in modern Momostenango, where it is celebrated with a famous festival including the Flying Pole Dance. BB translates 'decorated gourd or armed for war'.

*The Fourth Creation*

And there was much done by Blood

And 8 Monkey

That made proud

The Quiche.

Because truly spirits

Were their essence

That broke

And shattered

The canyon,

The town,

The little tribes

And the big tribes.

Nearby among them

There were formerly towns.

They were:

The mountain of the Fire Trees

Which is today Nettle,

And also another mountain of the Rabinals

Which is at Pouring River,

And a mountain of the Rains

Which is Plaster River,

And the towns of the White Earths:

Above Hot Springs,

And Under 10 Deer,

Before the Fort,

And Willow Tree.

7830

7840

7850

Are q'ut tzatz chik x u ban ri Kiq'ab

Cahuizimah.

Are chi nimarizan

K'iche,

R umal qitzih naval

U q'oheyik.

Are q'ahovik

Are puch x paxinik

U zivan \*

U tinamit

Ch'uti 'amaq'

Nima 'amaq'.

Naqah tak u xol

Q'o vi tinamit oher.

Are

U huyubal Q'aq' Chekeleb

Ri ch u vi La vakamik,\*

U huyubal chi nay pu Rabinaleb,

Ri pa Maq' A,\*

U huyub q'u Qavokeb,

Ri Zakhkaba Haa,\*

U tinamit chi q'ut Zaq Ulevab,\*

Ch u vi Miq'in A,\*

Xe Lahuh,\*

Ch u va Tzaq,\*

Tzoloh Chee.\*

7830

7840

7850

7833-4. Omitted by FX.

7841. *Ch u vi La* 'above the nettles', in Nahuatl *chichicaztenanco* 'place of the lords of nettles' is the modern Santo Tomas Chichicastenango. It is interesting to note that it was at this time under Cakchiquel lordship (mid-15th century). The nettle is *Urera bracciifera* or *Chichicaste nigua*.

7843. *Pa Maq' A* 'pouring river' has been identified with the modern Zacualpa (perhaps Nahuatl *zoquialpan* 'muddy or swampy place'). The site of the old city is at La Vega, just east of the modern town, and has been excavated by Wauchope (1948). It was probably tributary to the Rabinal lineage until it was conquered by Blood. It is my belief that Blood's conquest of Zacualpa corresponds to Wauchope's "Yaqui Phase" at that site, signalled by introduction of such Mexicanisms as cremation and occasioning the abandonment of the main temples and dwellings. This would place the conquest of Zacualpa in 1464, which is where it belongs in the general chronology of the wars of Blood's reign, give or take perhaps five years. This would correspond to the Mayan date 10.19.0.0.0 (Wauchope, 1948, p. 39).

7845. The modern San Andres Sajcabaja.

7846. The site of Zaculeu is just outside Huehuetenango. It has been extensively excavated and restored (Woodbury and Trik, 1953) and was occupied from Classic times. It appears from the present mention to

have been the most important of the Mam towns in the later 15th century.

7847. *Ch u vi Miq'in A* 'above hot springs', in Nahuatl *totonicapan* 'place of hot springs', is the modern Totonicapan, under Mam lordship in the 15th century. BB says, "... it was situated on a high mountain where one still sees its ruins, which the Indians designate by the name of *Coxtun*, the fort, in the middle of Totonicapan where they dominate the hot springs that have given it its name."

7848. *Xe Lahuh Keh* 'under 10 deer' was originally the Mam *Kulaha* 'thunder'. According to folklore, Alvarado changed the name to *quetzaltenanco*, Nahuatl for 'place of the lords of quetzals', in honor of the appearance of Tecum u Mam, dressed in quetzal plumes for the battle at nearby Olinitepeque in 1524. It is now called Quezaltenango, though it continues to bear the nickname *xelajú* or *xela*. BB locates the old city at the foot of Santa Maria Volcano.

7849. *Ch u va Tz'aq* 'before the fort' is the modern Momostenango (perhaps Nahuatl *momotztenanco* 'place of the lords of the rampart'). FX says *Guatemala*.

7850. *Tzoloh Chee* 'willow tree' is the modern Santa Maria Chiquimula. FX says this is Momostenango. BB adds "... having also the Mexican name *Xomacac* ..." (p. 319). The tree has been identified as *Salix chilensis* (Wauchope, 1948, p. 50). It is used in medicine for fevers.

They hated Blood  
 And made war on him.  
 He really broke  
 And shattered  
 The canyons,  
 The towns of the Rabinals,  
 Fire Trees  
 And White Earths,  
 And they were collapsing  
 And bowing, all the tribes.  
 Until they supported him  
 Blood nearly killed them.  
 One division  
 Or two divisions more  
 And all of them would have been tributary.  
 The towns fell and took up the tumpline  
 Before Blood  
 And 8 Monkey.  
 The lineages came to be oppressed;  
 They were beaten with sticks.  
 Nothing their day,  
 Nothing their birth became.  
 Only obsidian  
 Was the shattering of the towns.  
 Suddenly it would begin to rip open  
 The edge of the land  
 Like the striking of lightning  
 That splits rocks.  
 In their fright  
 The tribes prostrated themselves at once  
 Before the incense tree  
 At the town marker,  
 So that today  
 It is a mountain of stones.

7861 ff. FX, whose translation of the next 30 lines is badly garbled, says 'and the soldiers of Blood got very far, and one or two divisions who didn't bring tribute were subjugated. He collected the tributes and they brought them before Blood. . .'

7862. The Annals of the Cakchiquels reports:

And then they reigned  
 Who are our grandfathers:  
 1 Storm  
 And 7 Monkey  
 And they seized  
 And took  
 Power  
 And majesty.  
 They came to lordship then  
 While there ruled  
 The lord  
 Blood,

Are x r ixovah Kiq'ab  
 X u ban labal.  
 Qitzih vi x qahik  
 X paxik  
 U zivan,  
 U tinamit Rabinaleb,  
 Q'aq' Chekeleb,  
 Zaq Ulevab.  
 X uleyik  
 7860 X paqayik r onohel amaq'. 7860  
 Q'a x toq'e \*  
 Chi naht u kamizah Kiq'ab.\*  
 Hu ch'ob,  
 Ka ch'ob ta chik  
 Ma vi k u qam u patan chi r ech r onohel.\*  
 X qah u tinamit x u qam u patan  
 Ch u vach Kiq'ab  
 Cauizimah.  
 X e 'ok chinamit x e lotz'ik,\*  
 7870 X e kaq'ik chi chee. 7870  
 Ma ha bi ki q'ih  
 Ma ha bi k alaxik x uxik.  
 Xa cha  
 Mi q'ohe paxibal tinamit.  
 Hu zuq chi hixitahik \*  
 U chi 'ulev  
 Kehe ri chi q'ozin ka kulaha  
 Ch u paxih abah.  
 Chi xibinik  
 7880 Libah chi ch elah amaq' 7880  
 Ch u vach q'ol chee \*  
 R etal tinamit  
 R umal vakamik  
 Hun huyub abah.

Who took pity on the face of the Bats  
 And Woodpeckers . . .  
 . . . Truly hot  
 Burned then  
 The lord  
 Blood  
 When there reigned  
 Our grandfathers  
 1 Storm  
 And 7 Monkey.  
 Truly they terrified;  
 They were valiant . . .

(Villacorta, 1936, pp. 228-9)

7865. SJ has *can* for *qam*.  
 7869. BB and SJ have *chi munil* for *chinamit*.  
 7875. The MS has *zu* for *zuq*.  
 7881. The incense tree (*q'ol chee*) has not been identified.

*The Fourth Creation*

A little more

And you couldn't squeeze by,  
As though it were chopped  
With an axe.

There is a place there on the coast  
Called The Mats.

It is clear today.

All the people who pass by can see  
The marker,

The manhood of Blood.

Nothing killed him,

And nothing defeated him.

Truly he was a hero,

And all the tribes took up the tumpline.

And then when all the lords had conferred

They went out to block off

The back of the canyon,

The back of the town.

Fallen then were the towns

Of all the tribes.

LXXX

And then came guards,

Soldier watchers,

When they then made watchmen of the lineages

Living in the hills.

"If they come back,

Then come in to live

In the town,

The city," they said.

When all the lords had reached agreement

Then they went to their posts.

"As though it were a wall,

And like a jealous lineage,

So also our rampart,

Our fortress will be.

This then our courage,

Our manhood will be,"

Said all the lords.

Then they went to their posts,

Each one

In his lineage,

7885. BX omit *x*.

7886. BX omit *x*; BB has *q'alatahik*; FX reads *q'atoh* 'destroy'.

7890. Mayanized Pipil from *petlatl* 'mat'. Perhaps this is the modern Chipó in Suchitepequez, or Popóya, a little farther east in Escuintla.

7892. The MS has *icovi*.

X zkakin chik \*

Ma vi x q'atahik \*

Kehe ri x choy

Chi 'ikah r umal.

Chila q'o vi pa tak'ah

7890 Petatayub u bi.\*

Q'alah vakamik.

Ka r il r onohel vinq k e 'iq'ovik \*

R etal

R achihihil Kiq'ab.

Ma ha bi x kam vi

Ma pu ha bi x ch'akatah vi.

Qitzihi vi chi 'achih.

X u qam q'ut u patan r onohel amaq'.

Ta x e naohin q'ut ahavab k onohel

7900 Ta x beek q'atey

R ih zivan

R ih tinamit.

X qahinak ok u tinamit

R onohel amaq'.

LXXX

Kate q'ut ta r elik varanel,\*

Ilol ah labal.

Ta x ki ban q'ut u vachinel chinamit \*

Laqabey huyub.\*

"Ve chi pe chik

Ta ch ul u laqabeh

U tinamit

Amaq'," x e ch'a

Ta x ki kuch ki naoh k onohel ahavab

Ta x el ki vaban.

"Kehe ri qa kehoh

Kehe pu q'aq'a chinamit

Kehe nay pu qa tz'alam

Qa q'ox tun ch uxik.

Are chik q oyoval

Q achihihilal ta ch ux ok,"

X e ch'a k onohel ahavab.

Ta x e 'elik u vaban

Huhun

Chi chinamit

7905-8. FX gives 'then there went to the frontiers sentinels who were to take care of war and they founded on their mountains imitation towns'. This is only vaguely in touch with the text.

7907. The MS has *ba* for *ban*; BX omit *u*.

7908. The MS has *huyab*.

As rivals		K'ulelay	
To the soldiers.		R ech ah labal.	
And then they took their leave		Ta x e pixabax q'ut	
And they went out		Ta x e be puch	
As guards		Vaban	
Living in the mountains of the tribes.	7930	Laqabey u huyubal amaq'.	7930
"You are to go on account of our mountains again.		"Ch i beek r umal qa huyubal chik.	
Do not be afraid.		M i xibih iv ib.	
If there are still soldiers		Ve q'o chik ah labal	
Who still come after you,		Ch ul chik iv uq	
Killing you,		Ta x kamizay iv e	
Quickly send for me to come and kill them,"		Anim ch ulibih chi be nu ka kamizah,"	
Blood then said to them.		X ch'a q'ut Kiq'ab chi k ech	
When all their faces had been instructed		Ta x e pixabaxik k onohel vach *	
By the Captain		R uq Q'alel	
And Nobleman,	7940	Ah Tzik Vinaq.*	7940
Then they went along the edge of the knife,		Ta x beyiheyik ri 'u chi cha *	
The edge of the rope, as it is called.		U chi q'aam ch u ch'axik.	
Then they scattered themselves, the grandfathers		Ta x paxin r ib u mam	
And fathers		U qahav ri	
Of all the Quiche people.		R onohel K'iche vinaq.	
They were on each mountain,		Q'o pa huhun chi huyub	
Just as guardians of the mountain		Xa chahal huyub	
And just as guardians		Xa pu chahal *	
Of knife		Cha,	
And rope;	7950	Q'aam,	7950
As guardians		Chahal	
And soldiers when they went.		Labal puch ta x beek.	
None was to have his dawn		Ma na hun ta zaqir vi	
And none was to have his god.		Ma nay puch hun ta 'u kabavil.	
They were just blocking off the back of the town.		Xa q'atey r ih tinamit.	
Then they all came:		Ta x elik r onohel:	
The people of Nettles,		Ah u vi La,	
The people of the Rapids,		Ah ch Ulimal,*	
White River,		Zaqi Ya,*	
Deer Dance,	7960	Xahobal Keh,*	7960
Plank,		Chi Temah,*	
Eighteen,		Vahxaq Lahuh,*	
And the people of 2 Leg,		R uq chik Ah Kaab r Aqan,*	
Obsidian Fire at Hunter,		Ch'abi Q'aq' chi Hun Ah Pu,*	
And Pouring River,		R uq Ah Maq' A,	

7938. Omitted by FX.

7940-54. No separation was to be tolerated, especially not religious.

7941-2. FX has 'archers and bowmen', BB 'the chiefs-of-spears and the chiefs-of-slugs'.

7948-51. The MS has *ch'ahal* for *chahal*.7958. BB has *Chutimal*. Chulimal is near Chichicastenango. See note to line 8054.7959. *Zaqi Ya* is near Chichicastenango.7960. Near Chichicastenango. The MS has *xahba quieh*.

7961. Location unknown.

7962. Perhaps near Chichicastenango. The MS has *vahxa*; FX has *Alezyocho*, presumably *dieciocho*.

7963. Near San Sebastian Lemoa.

7964. The MS has *cabi* for *chabi*. It has been suggested that this is Fuego Volcano, but that seems geographically out of context here. FX has *Chavicac*.

The people of Xoy Rock,  
 The people of Plaster River,  
 The people of Firewood River,  
 The people of Hot Springs,  
 The people of Under 10 (Deer),  
 Valleys  
 And mountains,  
 They came watching the soldiers,  
 Guardians of the land,  
 When they were sent by Blood  
 And 8 Monkey,  
 Counsellor  
 And Step House Counsellor,  
 And the Captain  
 And Nobleman.  
 And four lords they sent out  
 And they watched the soldiers.  
 And Blood  
 And 8 Monkey were the names  
 Of the lords before the Kaveks.  
 There were two.  
 Death was the name  
 Of the lord before the Great-Houses,  
 And Armadillo Droppings was the name  
 Of the lord of the Lord Quiche.  
 And these are the names  
 Of the lords  
 Whom they summoned  
 And sent messengers for  
 When their born children,  
 Their engendered sons went  
 To the mountains,  
 Each to his mountain.  
 And then later on there came captives  
 And there came prisoners  
 Before Blood  
 And 8 Monkey  
 And the Captain  
 And Nobleman.  
 They were again making war on the edge of the  
 knife,  
 The edge of the rope.  
 They were captured again,

Ah Xoy Abah,\*  
 Ah Zahkaba Ha,  
 Ah Ziya Ha,\*  
 Ah Miq'in A,  
 Ah xe Lahuh,  
 Tak'ahal  
 Huyub.\*  
 Ri x elik varay labal  
 Chahal ulev  
 Ta x beek r umal Kiq'ab  
 Cahuizimah  
 Ah Pop  
 Ah Pop Qam Haa  
 Q'alel  
 Ah Tzik Vinaq.  
 E kahib chi 'ahavab x e taqonik \*  
 X e varan puch ah labal.  
 Kiq'ab  
 Cahuizimah u bi  
 Ahav ch u vach Qavekib.  
 E kaib.  
 Keema 'u bi  
 Ahav ch u vach Ni-Hayib,  
 Achaq Iboy q'ut u bi  
 Ahav ch u vach Ahav K'iche.\*  
 Are q'ut ki bi  
 Ahav ri  
 X e taqonik  
 X e zamahelan puch  
 Ta x e beek k al  
 Ki q'ahol  
 Pa huyub,  
 Pa huhun chi huyub.  
 X be na q'u nabe x ul na kanab  
 X ul na pu teleche  
 Ch u vach Kiq'ab  
 Cahuizimah  
 Q'alel  
 Ah Tzik Vinaq.  
 X ki ban chi vi labal ri 'u chi cha  
 U chi q'aam.  
 X e kanab chik,

7966. Xoy is of uncertain meaning. It occurs also in *chi Xoy*, the major river of the northern highlands. The place here is the modern Joyabaj. BB reads *xol abah* 'between the rocks'; FX has *Xoyabab*.

7968. Identified as Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan; FX has *Ahziyabah*. The town was visited and studied by Scherzer (1857).

7972. Omitted by FX.

7981. BX have y for e.

7990. BX omit *Ahav*. BB points out that Death does appear later (line 8491) whereas Armadillo Droppings does not. The latter may well have been the Chief Death of line 8543, here called by a nickname to avoid confusion.

They were imprisoned again. They had been heroes again, Those who were watching and turned them in, And they grew And were much remembered by the lords When they came to turn over their captives And all their prisoners. And so that is when it was agreed By the lords Counsellor, Step House Counsellor, Captain And Nobleman, And then came The decision: "Just take The very first there may be When their rank Comes to (that of) the guardian of the lineage." "I am Counsellor; I am Step House Counsellor, The counsellor ranks. And coming next to yours, You are Lord Captain, The rank will be," All the lords said then When they took their decision. And so likewise did the Branches And Seers. Equal in face Were the three divisions of Quiche. When they had done the arresting They titled The first of their born children, Their engendered sons. And thus was the decision taken, And it was not here, Quiche that was taken, But the names of the mountains that were taken. By their first born children And engendered sons.	8010	X e telechen chik. E 'achih x e 'ux chik Ri 'e vaban x e yaik,  X e k'iyar q'ut K'i chi q'ut ki k'uxilal k umal ahavab. Ta ch ul ki ya ki kanab Ki teleche r onohel. Kate q'ut ta x kuch naoh K umal ahavab Ah Pop Ah Pop Qam Haa Q'alel Ah Tzik Vinaq, Ta x el K u naoh. "Xa qa chapa K'i nabe chi q'ohe Ta q eqalem Vachinel chinamit ch ok vi." "In Ah Pop. In Ah Pop Qam Haa, Ah Pop chi r eqaleh vi * Ch ok chi q'ut av ech.* At Ahav Q'alel Q'alel r eqalem x ch uxik,"* X e ch'a q'ut r onohel ahavab Ta x qam ki naoh. Xa vi q'u kehe x u ban ok Tamub * Ilokab. Hunam vach Ox ch'ob chi K'iche. Ta x ban chaponik X ki q'obizah U nabe k al Ki q'ahol.* Kehe q'ut u qamik naoh Ma q'u chiri X chap vi K'iche, Q'o 'u bi huyub x chap vi.* U nabe 'al Q'ahol	8010
	8020		8020
	8030		8030
	8040		8040

8027. BB and SJ have *ve* for *vi*.8028. The MS has *choc chicu ave*. BB obviously did not know the word *eqalem* 'rank'.8030. BX omit *q'alel* here; the MS has *i calem*.8033. The MS has *o* for *ok*.

8040. This makes explicit the undercurrent of this opaque passage. The "born children and engendered

sons"—in this context the tributary peoples—were given titles in the Quiche system, the rank of the captive being carefully matched to that of the resident conqueror: Roman citizenship with a wardship clause. The result, as BB remarks, was both to assimilate the conquered and to control the conquerors.

8044. BB has *chup* for *chap*.

*The Fourth Creation*

And then they sent for all of them on their several  
mountains

To come to one place.

8050

LXXXI

Under Balax,

Under Qamaq' is the name of the mountain they  
took

When they entered their ranks.

There in The Rapids it was done.

LXXXII

These then are the titles they took

And they are known:

Twenty Captains,

Twenty Counsellors

Were taken by the Counsellor

And Step House Counsellor

8060

And by the Captain

And Nobleman.

All the Captains entered their ranks

And the Counsellors,

Eleven

Great Chairmen,

The Captain of the Lords,

The Captain of the White Winds,

The Captain of the Knights,

The Counsellor of the Knights,

8070

The Mason of the Knights,

The Head of the Knights,

The names the lords entered

When they took titles.

And they named them after their benches,

After their pillows.

They were the firstborn children

And engendered sons of the Quiche people,

Watchers

And listeners over

8080

The edge of the knife,

The edge of the rope,

A wall sealing the ramparts

And fortress behind the Quiche.

And so they did the same, the Branches

And Seers,

They took prisoners

Ta x e taq q'ut r onohel q'o pa huhun chi huyub

Xa hun x e kuch vi.

8050

LXXXI

Xe Balax

Xe Qamaq' u bi huyub x e chap vi,\*

Ta x ok ki qalem

Chiri ch Ulimal x ban vi.\*

LXXXII

Va q'ute ki q'obik ki chapik

K etaxik puch:

Hu vinaq Q'alel

Hu vinaq Ah Pop

X chapik r umal Ah Pop,

Ah Pop Qam Haa,

8060

R umal puch Q'alel,

Ah Tzik Vinaq.

X ok k eqalem r onohel Q'alel

Ah Pop,

Hu lahu

Nim Ch'okoh,

Q'alel Ahav,

Q'alel Zaq Iq',

U Q'alel Achih,

R Ah Pop Achih,

8070

R Ah Tz'alam Achih,

U Tzam Achih,

Ki bi 'achihab x okik

Ta x e q'obik.

X e biinah puch ch u vi ki tem,\*

Ch u vi ki ch'akat.

E 'u nabe r al

U q'ahol K'iche vinaq,

Ilol r ech

Ta'ol r ech

8080

U chi cha

U chi q'aam,

Kehoh tz'apib tz'alam

Q'ox tun chi r ih K'iche.

Xa vi q'u kehe x u ban ok Tamub,\*

Illokab.

X u chapo

8052. FX has *Camax*.

8054. BB comments, "The name of this locality, formerly celebrated in the annals of Quiche, is lost today; some Indians directed me to some ruins of the name of

*Chulimal* between *Lemoa*, *Chichicastenango* and the foot of the mountains of Totonicapan."

8075-6. That is, after the towns they ruled.

8085. The MS has *o* for *ok*.

And they made titles  
 For the firstborn child,  
 The engendered son  
 Who was on each mountain.  
 And this is the origin  
 Of the Captains  
 And Counsellors,  
 The ranks  
 On each mountain today.  
 Thus they came  
 When they came  
 After the Counsellor  
 And Step House Counsellor,  
 And after the Captain  
 And Lord Nobleman they came then.

## LXXXIII

Here then we shall recount  
 The names of the houses of the gods.  
 Only actually the house was named  
 For the name of the god.  
 "The Great Building of Storm" was the name of  
 the building  
 And house of Storm of the Kaveks,  
 And "Lord Jaguar" was the name of the building  
 And house of Lord Jaguar of the  
 Great-Houses.  
 And "Fire Peak" in turn was the name of the  
 building  
 And house of the god of the Lord Quiche.  
 "Dripping House" is still visible;  
 "Falling House" is still its name.  
 They were great buildings  
 Where there was an idol  
 Worshipped by the Quiche lords  
 And worshipped by all the tribes.  
 The tribes came first to burn offerings before Storm,  
 And then when they had revered  
 The Counsellor  
 And Step House Counsellor,  
 Then they came to give their quetzal feathers,  
 Their tribute before the lord.  
 He was still the lord,  
 And it was still he  
 Whom they nourished  
 And supported:

8092. BB has *xenabik*.

8114. BB identifies this as San Andres Sajcabaja.

8116. Literally, 'a stone'. BB makes much of this,

X u q'obizah puch  
 U nabe r al  
 8090 U q'ahol, 8090  
 Q'o pa huhun chi huyub.  
 Are q'ut u xenahik \*  
 Q'alel  
 Ah Pop,  
 R eqalem  
 Pa huhun chi huyub vakamik.  
 Kehe r elik ri  
 Ta x e 'elik  
 Chi r ih Ah Pop,  
 8100 Ah Pop Qam Haa, 8100  
 Chi r ih puch Q'alel  
 Ah Tzik Vinaq x el vi.

## LXXXIII

Are q'ut x chi qa biih chik  
 U be r ochoch kabavil.  
 Xa vi xere x u biinah r ochoch ri  
 U bi kabavil.  
 Nimaq Tzak Tohil u bi tzak  
 R ochoch Tohil r ech Qavekib.  
 Avilix q'ut u be tzak  
 R ochoch Avilix r ech Ni-Hayibab. 8110  
 Haka Vitz chi q'ut u bi tzak  
 R ochoch u kabavil Ahav K'iche.  
 Tz'utu Haa k il na,  
 Qahoba Haa 'u bi chik.\*  
 Nimaq tzak  
 X q'ohe vi 'abah \*  
 X q'ihiloxik r umal ahavab K'iche  
 Q'ihiloxik puch r umal r onohel amaq'.  
 Ch ok na 'u k'atoh amaq' nabe ch u vach ri Tohil  
 Kate q'ut ta ch u q'ihila chik 8120  
 Ah Pop  
 Ah Pop Qam Haa  
 Kate ch ul ki ya ki q'uq'  
 Ki patan ch u vach Ahav.  
 Are 'Ahav chik  
 Are chi puch  
 Ki tzukun  
 Ki koon,

but it appears to be the common way of referring to carved stone idols.

*The Fourth Creation*

The Counsellor  
 And Step House Counsellor.  
 Many towns were destroyed.  
 They were great lords.  
 They were spirit people,  
 Spirit lords,  
 Quetzal Serpent  
 And Chief Sweatbath.  
 Spirit lords too were Blood  
 And 8 Monkey.  
 They knew  
 Whether war would come.  
 Clearly they saw  
 Everything they saw,  
 Whether death,  
 Whether famine,  
 Whether fighting would come.  
 They certainly knew.  
 And there was a crystal for it;  
 There was a Book.  
 The Counsel Book they called it.  
 It wasn't just that they were lords.  
 Great was their essence,  
 And great were their fasts.  
 These were sacred buildings,  
 And sacred was the lordship to them.  
 For a long time then they fasted;  
 They prostrated themselves before their god.  
 This then was their fast:  
 180 days they fasted,  
 And 180 they prostrated themselves  
 And burned offerings.  
 260 days more they fasted,  
 And 260 more they prostrated themselves.  
 They burned offerings before Storm  
 And before their god.  
 Only mamey,  
 Only soursop,  
 Only custard apple could they suck,  
 And they had no corn to eat.  
 And if they prostrated themselves 340 days,  
 Or fasted for 340,

Ah Pop  
 Ah Pop Qam Haa,  
 X qazan k'i tinamit.  
 E nima 'ahavab.  
 E naval tak vinaq,  
 Naval ahav  
 Ri Q'uq' Kumatz \*  
 Qo Tuha.  
 Naval ahav q'u ri Kiq'ab  
 Cahuizimah.  
 K etam ve  
 Labal chi banik  
 Q'alah chi ki vach  
 R onohel chi k ilo:\*  
 Ve kamik  
 Ve vaih  
 Ve ch'aoh chi banik.  
 Xax k etam vi.  
 Q'o q'ut ilobal r ech,\*  
 Q'o vuh.  
 Popol Vuh u bi k umal.  
 Ma na kehe 'e 'ahavab.  
 Nim ki q'oheyik  
 Nim nay puch ki mevahik.  
 Are loq'obal tz'aq  
 Loq'obal pu 'ahavarem k umal.  
 Nahatik chik x e mevahik,  
 X e qahabik ch u vach ki kabavil.  
 Va q'ute ki mevahibal:  
 Beleh vinaq k e mevahik,\*  
 Hu beleh q'ut k e qahabik  
 K e k'atonik.  
 Ox lahuu vinaq chik ki mevahibal,  
 Ox lahuu chi q'ut k e qahabik.\*  
 K e k'atonik ch u vach Tohil,  
 Ch u vach pu ki kabavil.  
 Xa tulul  
 Xa 'ahache  
 Xa q'inom chi ki loob; \*  
 Are ma ha bi va chi ki veeh.  
 Ve q'ut vuq lahuu vinaq k e qahabik,\*  
 Vuq lahuu k e mevahik.\*



8135-6. The MS repeats these two lines.

8142. BX have *ch* for *chi*.

8147. Crystals were part of the divination equipment; see note to line 402.

8158. *Vinaq* has generally been read 'man' here but it is clearly the numeral 20. The figures remain poetic and religious: 180 days is a half-year (*tun*), 260 is a full cycle (*poval*), and 340 is a *poval* plus a half-*tun*. Landa

comments (Tozzer, 1941, p. 152): "those who began these fasts did not dare to break them because they believed some calamity to themselves or to their houses would befall them."

8162. The MS has *lahu* for *lahuh*.

8167. The MS has *loo* for *loob*.

8169. BB omits *q'ut*.

8170. BB and SJ read *uve* for *vuq*.

They didn't eat.  
 Truly they carried out great vows.  
 This was the sign  
 Of the spirit of the lords.  
 And also they couldn't sleep with any woman then;  
 They kept themselves all by themselves.  
 They fasted  
 And just stayed in the house of the god.  
 Just worshipping every day,  
 Just burning offerings, 8180  
 And just prostrating themselves was all they did.  
 They just stayed there  
 By dark  
 Or daylight.  
 Their hearts just cried.  
 And their bellies just cried.  
 Then they prayed for light  
 And life  
 Of their born children,  
 Their engendered sons, 8190  
 And also their lordship.  
 They bowed down their faces before heaven.  
 This then is their prayer before their god  
 When they prayed.  
 And this is the cry of their hearts  
 Here:

LXXXIV

"Hail thou of the five days,  
 Thou 1 Leg,  
 Thou Heart of Heaven  
 And Earth,  
 Thou giver of what is yellow  
 And what is green,  
 And thou giver of daughters  
 And sons:  
 Drip down,  
 Pour down  
 Thy greenness,  
 Thy yellowness;  
 Give thou, pray, life  
 And sustenance  
 For my children  
 And my sons  
 That they may multiply,  
 That they may continue  
 As nourishers to thee  
 And supporters to thee,  
 Calling upon thee in the paths

8197. FX reads *atoob* 'beauty'.

Ma vi k e vaik.  
 Qitzih vi chi nima 'avazinik chi ki bano.  
 Are r etal  
 Ki q'oheyik e 'ahavab  
 R uq q'ut ma ha bi 'ixoq chi var q'ut  
 Xa ki tukel chi ki chahih k ib.  
 K e mevahik  
 Xa pa r ochoch kabavil k e q'ohe vi.  
 Hu tak q'ih xa q'ihilonik  
 Xa k'atonik 8180  
 Xa pu qahabik chi ki bano.  
 Xa vi chiri 'e q'o vi  
 X q'eq  
 Zaqirik  
 Xa ch x oq' ki k'ux,  
 Xa pu ch x oq' ki pam.  
 Ta k e tz'ononik chi r ech u zaq  
 U k'azilem  
 K al  
 Ki q'ahol 8190  
 Chi r e nay puch k ahavarem.  
 Chi ki paqaba ki vach chi kah.  
 Va q'ute ki tz'onobal ch u vach ki kabavil  
 Ta k e tz'ononik.  
 Are q'ut r oq'eh ki k'ux,  
 Va:

LXXXIV

"Akarok at oob u q'ih,\*  
 At Hu r Aqan,  
 At u K'ux Kah,  
 8200 Ulev, 8200  
 At yaol r ech q'anal  
 Raxal,  
 At pu yaol mial,  
 Q'ahol:  
 Ch a tziloh,\*  
 Ch a maq'ih ulok  
 A raxal,  
 A q'anal.  
 Ch a ya ta 'u k'azeyik  
 8210 Vinaqirik 8210  
 V al  
 Nu q'ahol  
 Chi poq' tah  
 Chi vinaqir tah  
 Tzukul av e  
 Kool av e  
 Zik'iy av e pa be,

8205. BX have *ziloh*.

*The Fourth Creation*

And roads,  
At the rivers  
And canyons,  
Under the trees  
And bushes.  
Give them daughters  
And sons.  
Let there be no disgrace  
Or captivity,  
Fighting  
Or perversion.  
Let no demons come behind them  
Or before them.  
Let them not fall;  
Let them not be wounded;  
Let them not fornicate;  
Let them not be sentenced;  
Let them not fall below the road  
Or above the road.  
Let nothing afflict  
Or assail them  
Behind  
Or before.  
Put them on the green path,  
The green road.  
Let nothing disgrace them  
Or imprison them  
By thy misfortune  
Or thy enchantment.  
Good be  
Their essence  
As nourishers to thee,  
Supporters to thee,  
Before thy mouth,  
Before thy face,  
Thou Heart of Heaven,  
Thou Heart of Earth,  
Thou Shrouded Glory,  
And thou, Storm,  
Lord Jaguar,  
Fire Peak,  
Womb of heaven,  
Womb of earth,  
For the four creations,  
And the four destructions.  
Let there just be light;  
Let there just be peace in them

	Pa hok	
	Pa be ya	
8220	Pa zivan	8220
	Xe chee	
	Xe q'aam.	
	Ch a ya ki mial	
	Ki q'ahol.	
	Ma ta ha bi 'il	
	Tz'ap	
	Yaan	
	K'exo.*	
	Ma ta ch ok q'ax tokonel chi k ih	
8230	Chi ki vach.	8230
	M e pahik,	
	M e zokotahik,	
	M e hoxovik,	
	M e q'atovik,	
	M e qahik r ekem be	
	R ah zik be.	
	Ma ta ha bi paq'	
	Tox k'om	
	Chi k ih	
8240	Chi ki vach.	8240
	K e 'ayatah pa raxa be	
	Pa raxa hok.	
	Ma ta ha bi k il	
	Ki tz'ap	
	A kuvil	
	Av itzimal.*	
	Utz tah	
	Ki q'oheyik	
	Tzukul av e	
8250	Kool av e	8250
	Ch a chi	
	Ch a vach	
	At u K'ux Kah,	
	At u K'ux Ulev,	
	At Pizom Q'aq'al,	
	At puch Tohil,	
	Avilix,	
	Haka Vitz,	
	Pam kah,	
8260	U pam ulev	8260
	K ah tzuq *	
	K ah xukut	
	Xa ta zaq *	
	Xa ta 'amaq'	

8228-33. FX has 'let them not be deceived nor stumble nor fall' for these six lines.

8246. FX has 'by thy hair'l

8261. BB reads *tzac*; FX has 'and four corners'.  
8263. Omitted by FX.

Before thy mouth  
And before thy face,  
Oh thou,  
God."  
Thus the lords did  
When they fasted  
In the 180,  
The 260,  
And 340.  
Many fast days their hearts cried  
Over their born children,  
Their engendered sons,  
And over their wives  
And children  
When they did their service,  
Each of the lords.  
This was the price of light  
And life  
And the price of lordship.  
This was the lordship  
Of the Counsellor,  
Step House Counsellor,  
Captain  
And Lord Nobleman.  
They were in pairs when they lamented;  
They changed themselves around  
For the worship of the tribes  
And all the Quiche people.  
Each one  
Came then  
Under the word  
And under  
The nourishing  
And supporting.  
Just under the word  
It was just done likewise  
By the Branches  
And Seers  
Together with the Rabinals,  
Fire Trees,  
Bird House People,  
Sweatbath House,  
Speaker House.  
Each one of them came then  
When it served its month in Quiche.  
Then it was done by all of them.  
But it wasn't only thus that they ruled;

U pam ch a chi  
Ch a vach  
At  
Kabavil."  
Kehe q'ut ri 'ahavab  
8270 Ta k e mevahik 8270  
Ch u pam ri beleh vinaq,  
Ox lahuu vinaq,  
Vuq lahuu vinaq puch.  
K'i mevaih q'ih ch oq' ki k'ux  
Ch u vi k al  
Ki q'ahol  
Ch u vi puch r onohel ixoq  
Alquval,  
Ta x ki ban ki patan  
8280 Huhun chi 'ahavab. 8280  
Are loq'obal zaq  
K'azilem  
Loq'obal puch ahavarem.  
Are r ahavarem  
Ah Pop  
Ah Pop Qam Haa  
Q'alel  
Ah Tzik Vinaq.  
E kakab ta k e 'oq'ik.  
8290 K e halov k ib 8290  
Chi r e q'alixik amaq'  
R uq r onohel K'iche vinaq.  
Xa hun  
X el vi  
U xe tzih  
U xe puch  
Tzuku  
Kooh.  
Xa vi 'u xe tzih  
8300 Xa vi kehe k u bano 8300  
Tamub  
Ilokab  
R uq Rabinaleb,  
Q'aq' Chekeleb,  
Ah Tz'ikina Haa,  
Tuhala Haa,  
Uch'aba Haa.  
Xa hun ch e 'el vi  
Ta x ik'in chiri K'iche.\*  
8310 Ta x u ban r ech r onohel. 8310  
Ma na xa ki kehe x e 'ahavarik.

8309. Startlingly, the reference is to the lunar month rather than the 20-day month, though the usage may be

figurative. The line is omitted by FX.

*The Fourth Creation*

It wasn't just that they appointed them to donate  
Nourishers to them,  
Supporters to them.  
Their fasting was a penance they made,  
And so that it would not be in vain  
That they had bewitched  
And stolen their lordship,  
Their glory,  
Their majesty, 8320  
And also it was not just that they had beaten the  
canyons  
And towns,  
The little tribes  
And great tribes.  
A great payment  
They gave.  
There came turquoise;  
There came silver;  
And there came plaster handles,  
And handles covered 8330  
With jade,  
With jewels,  
And there came dove feathers  
(And quetzal feathers),  
Sitting  
Or standing,  
The tribute of all the tribes  
Came before the spirit lords,  
Quetzal Serpent  
And Chief Sweatbath 8340  
And before Blood  
And 8 Monkey,  
The Counsellor  
And Step House Counsellor,  
Captain  
And Lord Nobleman.  
It was not just a little that they did,  
And it was also not just a few more tribes they  
destroyed.  
Many more divisions of tribes  
Came to serve Quiche, 8350  
And suffering they received  
And were persecuted by them.  
It was not suddenly that their glory was created  
Until Quetzal Serpent was the root of greatness in  
the lordship.

Ma na xa x ki kaq kochih \*  
Tzukul k e,  
Kool k e.  
Xa ta ki vain u k'aha x ki bano.  
Ma pu xa loq tah \*  
X k itz'uba \*  
X k eleq'ah k ahavarem  
Ki q'aq'al,  
Ki tepeval. 8320  
Ma nay pu xa ta kehe x qah u zivan  
  
U tinamit  
Ch'uti 'amaq',  
Nima 'amaq'  
Nim r ahil  
X ki yao.  
X ul xit  
X ul puvaq  
X ul puch zahkab r aqan \*  
Tuvik r aqan 8330  
Chi q'uval  
Chi yamanik \*  
X ul puch raxon  
(Q'uq'.)\*  
Kubul,  
Ch'akatik \*  
U patan r onohel amaq'  
X ul chi ki vach naval ahavab  
Q'uq' Kumatz  
Qo Tuha, 8340  
Ch u vach puch Kiq'ab  
Cahuizimah  
Ri 'Ah Pop  
Ah Pop Qam Haa  
Q'alel  
Ah Tzik Vinaq.  
Ma vi xa ch'utin x ki bano.  
Ma nay pu xa ta zkakin chi 'amaq' x ki qazah.  
  
K'iya ch'ob chi 'amaq'  
X ul u patan K'iche, 8350  
Q'axiqol q'ut x qam vi  
X yaq'ex vi k umal.  
Ma vi 'atan x vinaqirik ki q'aq'al  
Q'a Q'uq' Kumatz u xe nimal chi 'ahavarem.

8312. FX says 'and they did not covet the gifts of'.

8316. BB reads *loq'oh* 'buy'.

8317. BB and SJ read *xquitzubu*.

8329. BB has *quhcab*; SJ has *cah, cab*; omitted by FX.

8332. Omitted by FX.

8334. Poetic scansion requires the insertion of *q'uq'* here though it is missing from the MS.

8336. Omitted by FX.

Thus then was the beginning of the growth  
 And then the growth of Quiche.  
 And here again we shall enumerate the generations  
 of lords,  
 With the names of all the lords, which we shall  
 repeat.

## LXXXV

This then is the descent,  
 The order  
 Of lordship  
 In all of their illustriousness.  
 Jaguar Quiche,  
 Jaguar Night,  
 Nought  
 And Wind Jaguar  
 Were our first grandfathers,  
 Our first fathers  
 When the sun appeared  
 And the moon and stars appeared. 8370  
 This then is the descent,  
 The order of the lordship,  
 Which we shall begin there,  
 Right at the root.  
 Paired off the lords entered  
 When they entered,  
 When each generation of lords was dying,  
 The grandfathers,  
 And the rulers in the town,  
 All of them matched the lords. 8380  
 This then kept watch on the face of the  
 corresponding lords;  
 This then kept watch on the face of each of the  
 corresponding Quiche lords.

## LXXXVI

Jaguar Quiche  
 Was the root of the Kaveks.  
 Chief Two  
 Was the second generation next to Jaguar Quiche.  
 Jaguar Chief Imitator began the Counsellorship  
 And the third generation,  
 While Chief Sweatbath  
 And White Life were the fourth generation. 8390  
 Quetzal Serpent  
 And Chief Sweatbath,  
 The root of the spirit lords,

8356. BX omit *ri*.8381-2. FX has 'and here will be told about each one  
 by himself'.

Kehe q'ut u tikarik u nimarik  
 Ri 'u nimarik puch K'iche.\*  
 Are chi q'ut x chi qa cholov leel ahavab  
 R uq ki bi k onohel ahavab x chi qa biih chik.

## LXXXV

Vae q'ute 'u leel  
 U tazel 8360  
 Ahavarem  
 Chi r onohel ki zaqiribem:  
 Balam Kitze  
 Balam Aqab  
 Mahuq'utah  
 Iq'i Balam,  
 Nabe qa mam  
 Nabe qa qahav  
 Ta x vachin q'ih  
 X vachin ik', ch'umil. 8370  
 Vae q'ute 'u leel,  
 U tazel ahavarem  
 X chi qa tikiba ulok  
 K'i ch u xe.  
 Q'ulaq'uh chi r okik ahavab  
 Ta ch okik  
 Ta chi kamiheyik hu tak le chi 'ahavab  
 Ri mama  
 R uq r ahaval chi tinamit  
 R onohel chi huhun chi 'ahavab. 8380  
 Vae q'ute x chi vachin u vach ch u huhunal ahavab,\*  
 Vae q'ute x chi vachin u vach huhun ch u huhunal  
 ahavab K'iche.

## LXXXVI

Balam Kitze  
 U xenabal Qavekib.  
 Qo Kaib  
 U ka le chik Balam Kitze.  
 Balam Qo Nache x tikiban Ah Popol \*  
 R ox le q'u ri  
 Qo Tuha  
 Iztayol u kah le.\* 8390  
 Q'uq' Kumatz  
 Qo Tuha  
 U xe naval ahav

8387. FX omits *x tikiban Ah Popol*. Also see note  
 to line 4825.8390. The MS has *ztayub*.

*The Fourth Creation*

Were the fifth generation then.  
 Mountain Prince  
 And White Life were the sixth rank.  
 Blood  
 And 8 Monkey  
 Were the seventh change of lordship,  
 Spirits also. 8400  
 Mountain Prince  
 And White Life were the eighth generation.  
 Grandfather  
 And Mountain Prince were the ninth generation.  
 8 Vine  
 And Blood were the tenth generation of lords.  
 7 Incense  
 And Snake Mountain next were the eleventh rank  
 of lords.  
 3 Deer  
 And 9 Dog were the twelfth generation. 8410  
 And they it was who ruled when "The Sun" came:  
 They were hung by the Castilian people.  
 Grandfather  
 And Mountain Prince  
 Paid tribute before the Castilian people.  
 They had already been engendered at the  
 thirteenth generation of lords.  
 Sir John of Rojas  
 And Sir John Cortes  
 Were the fourteenth generation of lords.  
 They were engendered heirs 8420  
 Of Grandfather  
 And Mountain Prince.

R o l e x q'ohe vi.  
 Tepepul \*  
 Iztayol chik u vaq taz.\*  
 Kiq'ab  
 Cahuizimah  
 U vuq hal ahavarem,  
 Naval chi vi. 8400  
 Tepepul  
 Iztayol u vahxaq le.\*  
 Tecum \*  
 Tepepul u beleh le.  
 Vahxaqib Q'aam \*  
 Kiq'ab q'ut u lahu le 'ahavab.\*  
 Vuqub Nooh  
 Coatepec chik u hu lahu taz ahavab.\*  
 Oxib Keh  
 Beleheb Tz'i 'u kaab lahu le 'ahavab.\* 8410  
 Are q'ut k e 'ahavarik ta x ul Tonatiuh; \*  
 X e hitz'axik r umal Castillan vinaq.\*  
 Tecum \*  
 Tepepul \*  
 X e patanihik ch u vach Castillan vinaq.  
 Are x e q'aholan kan ok r ox lahu le 'ahavab.\*  
 Don Juan de Rojas \*  
 Don Juan Cortes  
 U kah lahu le 'ahavab.\*  
 E q'aholaxel 8420  
 R umal Tecum  
 Tepepul.\*

8395. *Tepepul*. I read Nahuatl *Tepepilli*. 'Great phallus' according to WC, who is given to sexual interpretations.

8396. The MS has *ztayul*; BX have *chi* for *chik*.

8402. The MS has *ztayub*.

8403. *Tecum* is translated 'stacked' by BB. *Tecul* is 'grandfather' in Nahuatl, a translation confirmed by the frequent addition of *u mam* to the name in other documents.

8405. The MS has *vahxaqui cam*. BB has '8 Vine'. *Malinalli* 'vine' is an Aztec day name, corresponding to *ey* 'tooth' in Quiche.

8406. The MS has *lahu*.

8408. The MS reads *cavatepech chic uhulahutaz ahavab*.

8410. BX omit *ahavab*; the MS has *cablahu*.

8411. *Tonatiuh* 'the sun' was the Aztec nickname of Pedro de Alvarado, Cortes' blond lieutenant and the conqueror of Guatemala. The MS has *Donadiu*.

8412. They were burned alive on 4 *k'at*, March 9, 1524, according to the Annals of the Cakchiquels (Villa-

corta, 1936, p. 263).

8413. Presumably this is the "Tecum u Mam" who commanded the Quiche army against the Spanish in the fighting around Quezaltenango and was killed in the battle at *pa Chahil* in 1524. He has since become the major hero of the Indian resistance, the Cuauhtemoc of Guatemalan *indigenismo*.

8414. BB identifies this *Tepepul* with *Sequechul* (Nahuatl *Ce Quechol*, 'I Bird', from *quecholli* 'a bird of rich plumage'), who attempted rebellion, was seized and put on a ship which sank off Acapulco.

8416. The MS has *lahu*.

8417. The Tam Paper adds his Quiche name:

... Alvarado gave the title to 9 Jaguar  
 On the death of Tecum, his father ...

Scherzer (in FX) mistranscribes *Julio* for *Juan* here and in the following line.

8419. The MS has *lahu* and omits *u*.

8422. And were allowed to keep some of their authority. They lived in Utatlan, despite its depopulation,

## LXXXVII

And these are the generations,  
 The ranks  
 Of lordship  
 Of the lords  
 Counsellor  
 And Step House Counsellor  
 Before the Kaveks  
 Of Quiche. 8430  
 Here we shall tell further about the lineages;  
 Here then are the great houses of each of the lords  
 After the Counsellor  
 And Step House Counsellor.  
 These are the names of the nine lineages of the  
 Kaveks,  
 Nine great houses.  
 These are the names of the rulers  
 Of each great house.  
 The Lord Counsellor had one great house.  
 "Hidden House" was the name of the 8440  
 great house.  
 The Lord Step House,  
 "Bird House" was the name of his great house.  
 The Great Chairman of Kavek  
 Had one great house.  
 The Lord Storm  
 Had one great house.  
 The Lord Quetzal Serpent  
 Had one great house.  
 The Councilman in the Chair  
 Had one great house. 8450  
 The Overseer of Cotton and Bean Stores  
 Had one great house.  
 The Councilman on the Ball Court Walls  
 Had appropriated one great house.  
 The Mexican Majesties  
 Had one great house.

## LXXXVIII

And these were the nine lineages  
 Of the Kaveks.  
 Many their born children,

until 1558, when they moved into Santa Cruz Quiche. Although the names of subsequent kings are lost, the title appears to have been maintained into the 18th century.

8432. BX have *nima*.

8435. BX have *beheheb* and omit the rest of the line.

8441. BX omit *Ah Pop*.

8444. BB omits *u*.

## LXXXVII

Are q'ut u leel  
 U tazel  
 Ahavarem  
 Ri 'ahav  
 Ah Pop  
 Ah Pop Qam Haa  
 Ch u vach Qavekib  
 K'iche. 8430  
 Are chi x chi qa biih chik r e chinamit  
 Va chi q'ute nim haa r ech huhun chi 'ahavab \*  
 Chi r ih Ah Pop  
 Ah Pop Qam Haa.  
 Are 'u biinam vi beleheb chinamit chi Qavekib,\*  
 Beleheb u nim haa.  
 Va tak u bi 'e r ahaval  
 Huhun chi nim haa.  
 Ahav Ah Pop hun u nim haa,  
 Q'u Haa 'u bi nim haa, 8440  
 Ahav Ah Pop Qam Haa.\*  
 Tz'ikina Haa 'u bi 'u nim haa.  
 Nim Ch'okoh Qavek  
 Hun u nim haa,\*  
 Ahav Ah Tohil  
 Hun u nim haa,  
 Ahav Ah Q'uq' Kumatz  
 Hun u nim haa,  
 Popol Vinaq chi T'uy  
 Hun u nim haa, 8450  
 Lol Met Keh Nay  
 Hun u nim haa.  
 Popol Vinaq pa Hom Tz'alatz'  
 X kulexeba hun u nim haa,\*  
 Tepev Yaqui  
 Hun u nim haa.

## LXXXVIII

Are q'u ri beleheb chinamit  
 Chi Qavekib.\*  
 Tzatz r al

8454. BB has *culxeba*; BX *k'uxe*; SJ *cuxeba*; FX *xeuxeba*.

8458 ff. This list disagrees with the previous list in two details: it promotes the Great Chairman from fifth place to third, and it identifies the Mother of the Step House (*u Chuch Q'am Haa*) as the Mexican Majesties (*Tepev Yaqui*). See line 7669 ff.

*The Fourth Creation*

Their engendered sons numbered  
After the nine  
Great houses.

LXXXIX

This then is for the Great-Houses:  
Nine more great houses.  
First we shall tell  
The succession of the lordship.  
All one is its root  
Which began before  
The root of day,  
The root of light was created.

XC

Jaguar Night  
Is first,  
Honored grandfather,  
And honored father.  
Chief Acul  
And Chief Acutec were the second generation.  
Chief Chahuh  
And Chief Painted House were the third  
generation.  
9 Deer  
Was the fourth generation next.  
Chief Sweatbath  
Was the fifth generation lord.  
And Monkey then  
Was the sixth generation next.  
And White Life then  
Was the seventh generation lord.  
Chief Sweatbath next then  
Was the eighth rank of lordship.  
9 Deer  
Was the ninth rank,  
And Death, as he was called, next  
Was the tenth generation.  
The Lord Chief Sweatbath  
Was the eleventh generation.  
Sir Christopher as he was called  
Ruled before the face of the Castilian people.  
Sir Peter of Robles  
Is Lord Captain today.

8460 U q'ahol ahilatal  
Chi r ih beleheb  
Chi nim haa.

LXXXIX

Va q'ute r ech Ni-Hayibab  
Beleheb chi vi chi nim haa.\*  
Are nabe x chi qa biih  
U leabal r ib ahavarem  
Xa hun u xe  
X chi tikar ch u vach \*  
U xe q'ih  
U xe zaq chi vinaq.

8470

8460

8470

XC

Balam Aqab  
Nabe  
Mamaxel  
Qahavixel.  
Qo 'Acul  
Qo 'Acutec u ka le.  
Qo Chahuh  
Qo Tz'iba Haa r ox le.

Beleheb Keh \*  
U kah le chik.  
Qo Tuha  
R o le 'ahav.  
Baatz'a chi q'ut \*  
U vaq le chik.\*  
Iztayol chi q'ut  
U vuq le 'ahav.  
Qo Tuha chi vi \*  
U vahxaq taz ahavarem.  
Beleheb Keh  
U beleh taz.  
Kame ch uch'ax chik \*  
U lahu le.\*  
Ahav Qo Tuha  
U hu lahu le.  
Don Christoval ch uch'axik  
X ahavarik ch u vach Castillan vinaq.\*  
Don Pedro de Robles  
Ahav Q'alel vakamik.

8480

8480

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8490

8464. BX omit the second *chi*.

8468. The MS has *ch* for *chi*.

8479. The MS has *quih* for *queh*; FX has *quich*.

8483. BB has 'monkey river'.

8484. BB read *vuc*.

8487. BX read *Tiw* for *Tu*.

8491. The MS has *quema* for *came*. BB translates 'weaving river'.

8492. BB has *lah*; the MS has *lahu* for *lahuh*.

8496. The MS has *caxtilan* here.

## XCI

And these are the mouths of all the lords,  
 Successors to the Lord Captain.  
 Here next we shall tell  
 The ruler of each great house.  
 The Lord Captain  
 Is the first lord  
 Before the Great-Houses.  
 He had one great house.  
 The Lord Nobleman  
 Had one great house.  
 The Lord Captain of the Step House  
 Had one great house.  
 The Great Step House  
 Had one great house.  
 The Mother of the Step House  
 Had one great house.  
 The Great Chairman of the Great-Houses  
 Had one great house.  
 The Lord of Lord Jaguar  
 Had one great house.  
 The Director  
 Had one great house.  
 The Great Overseer of Cotton and Giver of Flowers  
 Had one great house.

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## XCII

And these are the great houses  
 Which were before the Great-Houses.  
 They are called then  
 The nine lineages of the Great-Houses, it is said.  
 And many more were the lineages  
 Of each of the lords.  
 These are the first,  
 Whose names we have told.

8530

## XCIII

And this next  
 Is for the Lord Quiche.  
 This is its grandfather,  
 Its father:  
 Nought,  
 The first man.  
 Chief Lord was the name

8514. The MS repeats here:

*Nima Q'am Haa,*  
*Hun u nim haa.*

This throws the count off. It is appropriately omitted from BB's text and is omitted here. The previous men-

## XCI

Are q'u ri chi r onohel ahavab  
 Elenaq chi r ih ri 'Ahav Q'alel.  
 Are chik x chi qa biih  
 R ahaval huhun chi nim haa.  
 Ahav Q'alel  
 U nabe 'ahav  
 Ch u vach Ni-Hayibab  
 Hun u nim haa.  
 Ahav Ah Tzik Vinaq  
 Hun u nim haa,  
 Ahav Q'alel Qam Haa  
 Hun u nim haa,  
 Nima Qam Haa  
 Hun u nim haa,  
 U Chuch Qam Haa  
 Hun u nim haa,\*  
 Nim Ch'okoh Ni-Hayibab \*  
 Hun u nim haa,  
 Ahav Avilix  
 Hun u nim haa,  
 Yakolatam \*  
 Hun u nim haa,  
 Nima Lol Met Yeol Tux \*  
 Hun u nim haa.

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8520

## XCII

Are q'ut nim haa  
 Ri ch u vach Ni-Hayibab.  
 Are 'u biinam vi  
 Beleheb chinamit chi Ni-Hayibab ch uch'axik.  
 K'iya tak q'ut u chinamital \*  
 Huhun chi k e 'ahavab.  
 Are 'u nabe  
 Ri mi x qa biih ki bi.

8530

## XCIII

Are chi q'ut  
 R ech Ahav K'iche.  
 Va 'u mam  
 U qahav  
 Mahuq'utah  
 Nabe vinaq.  
 Qo 'Ahav u bi

tion of this lord is in the correct order; see line 7686.

8515. BB and SJ have *Ni-Hayib*.

8519. BX have *Yokolatam*.

8521-2. Omitted by SJ.

8527. The MS has *chinamatal*.

# The Fourth Creation

Of the second generation lord.  
Young Snake  
And Chief Pounded,  
Chief No Medicine,  
7 Corn,  
Chief Death,  
Chief Sick Panther,  
Twenty  
And Jaguar.

U ka le 'ahav,  
Q'aq' Laqan,\*  
8540 Qo Kozom,\*  
Qo Mah Kun,\*  
Vuqub Ah,  
Qo Kamel,  
Qo Yaba Koh,\*  
Vinaq,  
Bam.\*

8540

## XCIV

And these are the lords  
Who were before the Lord Quiche.  
These are their generations  
And their ranks. 8550  
And these are the names of the lords here in the  
great houses.  
There were only four great houses.

## XCIV

Are q'ut ahavab  
Ri ch u vach Ahav K'iche.  
Are u leel  
U tazel puch. 8550  
Are q'ut u bi 'ahavab va ch u pam nim haa.\*  
Xa kahib u nim haa.\*

8539. The MS has *caglacan*; FX has *cazlacan*; BB has 'red banner'.

8540. FX has *cozon*.

8541. BB reads *komah* 'blood' and *kun* 'vagina'.

8544. *Yaba Koh* 'sick panther' is probably a nickname.

8546. The MS has *Bam*; I read *Balam*. He was succeeded by Diego Pérez. Pedro de Salazar became head of the White Wind lineage.

8551. The MS has *pan* for *pam*.

8552. The following synopsis summarizes in approximately synchronic "generations" the succession of the leading Quiche lineages as it is depicted in the Popol Vuh. It attempts to interpret the ambiguities rather than to preserve them, and will accordingly be found to depart somewhat from the text, which is in any case self-contradictory. "Generations" are indicated by Roman numerals and rank order by Arabic ones. All the rulers after the First Fathers merited the title Ahav 'lord'. Other titles are indicated, together with lineage affiliations:

### I

1. Jaguar Quiche (Kavek)
2. Jaguar Night (Great-Houses)
3. Nought (Lord)
4. Wind Jaguar (White Wind)

### II

1. Chief Two (Kavek)
2. Chief Kinsmen (Kavek)
3. Chief Acul (Great-Houses)
4. Chief Acutec (Great-Houses)
5. Chief Lord (Lords)

### III (ca. 1383)

1. Chief Two (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. Chief Acutec (Step House Counsellor, Great-Houses)
3. Chief Lord (?Nobleman, Lords)

### IV

1. Chief Imitator (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. Chief Chahuh (Step House Counsellor, Great-Houses)
3. Chief Painted House (?Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Young Snake (?Nobleman, Lords)

### V

1. Chief Imitator (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. 9 Deer (Step House Counsellor, and Captain, Great-Houses)
3. Chief Pounded (Nobleman, Lords)

### VI

1. Chief Sweatbath (Counsellor and Captain ?Great-Houses)
2. White Life (Step House Counsellor, Great-Houses)
3. Chief No Medicine (Nobleman, Lords)

### VII (ca. 1420-50)

1. Feathered Serpent (Counsellor and Step House Counsellor, Kavek)
2. 8 Monkey (Captain, Great-Houses)
3. White Life (?Nobleman, Great-Houses)
4. 7 Corn (Nobleman, Lords)

### VIII (ca. 1450-90)

1. Blood (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. 8 Monkey (Step House Counsellor, Great-Houses)
3. Death (?Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Chief Death (Nobleman, Lords)

### IX (ca. 1490-1500)

1. 7 Incense (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. Snake Mountain (Step House Counsellor, Kavek)
3. Chief Sweatbath (Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Chief Sick Panther (Nobleman, Lords)

### X (ca. 1500-10)

1. 3 Deer (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. 9 Dog (Step House Counsellor, Kavek)

## XCV

The Nobleman of the Lords was the name of the first lord.

He had one great house.

The Overseer of Cotton of the Lords was the second lord.

He had one great house.

The Great Chairman of the Lords was the third lord.

He had one great house.

And Fire Peak was the fourth lord.

He had one great house.

So there were four great houses

Before the Lord Quiche.

8560

## XCVI

And those who were the three Great Chairmen

Were like honored fathers

To all the Quiche lords.

They gathered together as one,

But they were still three Chairmen.

They were hereditary.

They were the mothers of the word;

They were the fathers of the word.

8570

Rather great was their essence.

There were three Chairmen:

3. Chief Sweatbath (Captain, Great-Houses)

4. Twenty (Nobleman, Lords)

XI (ca. 1510-24)

1. Grandfather (Counsellor, Kavek)

2. Mountain Prince (Step House Counsellor, Kavek)

3. Don Cristóbal (Captain, Great-Houses)

4. Jaguar (Nobleman, Lords)

XII (ca. 1524-56)

1. 9 Jaguar (D. Juan de Rojas) (Counsellor, Kavek)

2. Don Juan Cortés (Step House Counsellor, Kavek)

3. Don Pedro de Robles (Captain, Great-Houses)

4. Don Diego Pérez (Nobleman, Lords)

5. Don Pedro de Salazar (Captain, White Winds)

Some documents insert an additional three generations between Jaguar Quiche and Chief Two (see note to line 7082). The Popol Vuh list adds three additional generations between Blood and 7 Incense, but these are unconfirmed in the preceding narrative. I have identified the 9 Deer, Chief Sweatbath, White Life, and 8 Monkey of the Kavek list with those of the Great-House list. I am further tempted to combine 8 Vine (line 8405) and Snake Mountain, and am uncertain about interpreting "him" as a successor to 8 Monkey, late in Blood's reign. I am persuaded that Chief Sweatbath may have been a

## XCV

Ah Tzik Vinaq Ahav u bi nabe 'ahav

Hun u nim haa,

Lol Met Ahav u kaab ahav \*

Hun u nim haa,

Nim Ch'okoh Ahav r ox ahav

Hun u nim haa,

Haka Vitz q'ut u kah ahav

Hun u nim haa,

Chi kahib q'ut nim haa

Ch u vach Ahav K'iche.

8560

## XCVI

Are q'u ri 'e 'oxib chi Nim Ch'okoh.

Kehe ri 'e qahavixel

R umal r onohel ahavab K'iche.

Xa hun chi ki kuch vi k ib

E 'oxib chik Ch'okohib.

E 'alanel

E 'u chuch tzih

E 'u qahav tzih.

8570

Nim zkakin u q'oheyik

E 'oxib chi Ch'okohib.

Great-House and that White Life almost certainly was, which seems to fit his behavior (line 7480 ff.).

The lists appear to reflect, albeit somewhat confusingly, the changing fortunes of the lineages over a period of 12 "generations," probably no more than 220 years. They are less revealing about the pattern of succession. The lords of the second generation are definitely stated to be sons of the founding fathers, but it is equally definite that they inherited no titles from their fathers. The "succession" of the third generation involved elimination of two of these heirs and the inauguration of new titles. In the fourth generation, Chief Imitator was the incestuous son of the disinherited (?younger) brother, Chief Kinsmen by the wife of Chief Two. The ancestry of his contemporaries is not stated. In no subsequent generation can we document a case of succession by relationship, except that each title tends to remain the prerogative of a particular lineage. If my reconstruction is correct, even this rule was sometimes broken. See, however, note to line 8417.

All the lineages appear to have "adopted" illustrious ancestors in order to confirm the principles of older-younger brother seniority and father-son succession by primogeniture, but these principles were honored mainly in the breach.

8555. FX has *colmet*.

XCVII

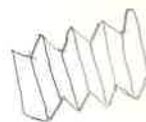
The Great Chairman then before the Kaveks,  
 (And the Great Chairman) before the Great-  
 Houses was the second then,  
 And the Great Chairman of the Lords before the  
 Lord Quiche  
 Was the third Great Chairman.  
 There were three of the Chairmen then,  
 Each in his own lineage.  
 Really this is the essence of Quiche,  
 Which is because there is no longer a view 8580  
 of it.  
 There was formerly the first one for the lords,  
 But it is still lost.  
 And really this finishes everything about Quiche  
 Called Holy Cross.

8573. *Ch u vach Qavekib* is missing from the MS but is plausibly supplied by BX.

8579. The MS has *xare*.

XCVII

Nim Ch'okoh q'ut (ch u vach Qavekib) \*  
 Ch u vach Ni-Hayib u kaab q'u ri.  
 Nim Ch'okoh Ahav ch u vach Ahav K'iche  
 R ox Nim Ch'okoh.  
 Chi 'oxib q'ut ri Ch'okohib  
 Huhun ch u vach chinamit.  
 Xere q'ut u q'oheyik K'iche \*  
 Ri r umal ma ha bi chi 'ilobal r e. 8580  
 Q'o nabe 'oher k umal ahavab  
 Zachinak chik.  
 Xere q'u ri mi x utzinik chi k onohel K'iche \*  
 Santa Cruz u bi.



8583. BB, in a final spasm of romanticism, reads this 'it's all over with all those of Quiche'.

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## Index

Entries in the index are primarily to the notes; numerals indicate the line number. The listings include (1) all Spanish and Nahuatl words that occur in the text, (2) all Quiche words unique to the Popol Vuh, with suggested meanings, (3) all forms occurring in the text for which my reading departs

substantially from the original orthography, and (4) a topical, primarily ethnographic index of the content of the notes, which may also serve to indicate the location of particular items in the text. Abbreviations are: Cak., Cakchiquel; n., noun; Nah., Nahuatl; p., particle; Sp., Spanish; v., verb.

Above the Hut, 7412  
 Abraham, 5708  
 abuse, 1006  
 Acapulco, 8414  
 Acatenango, 935  
 Acauitz: *Haka Vitz*, 5455  
 acid plant, 1789  
*Acul* (n., Nah. *acolli*), shoulder, 7089, 8552  
*Acutec* (n., Nah. *acotec*), upper people, 7089, 8552  
 adultery, 7326  
 adulthood, 7258  
*Agave*, 2953  
 age grade, 4823  
 aged, 1068  
 Agua, 934  
 Aguacatec, 5100  
 aguardiente, 2107, 4580  
 Ah Pop, 7287  
 Ah Pop Q'am Haa, 7287  
 Ahal Mez, 1811  
 Ahal Puh, 1789  
 Ahal Q'ana, 1790  
 Ahal Tokob, 1812  
*ahi* (p.), ouch!, 3497  
*alaxik*, 7178  
 alligator, 927  
 Alligator Parrot, 1702  
*Alouatta*, 810  
 Alta Verapaz, 5102, 5103, 5104  
 Alvarado, 402, 6753, 7642, 8411  
*amate*, 49  
*Amazona*, 824  
 amphibians, 927, 3292  
 amulet, 7178  
 animals, *see* amphibians, birds, insects, invertebrates, mammals, marsupials, reptiles  
 anise, 6178  
 Annals of the Cakchiquels, 4810, 5053, 5091, 5095, 5110, 5260, 5546, 7110, 7862, 8412  
*Anona*, 4781  
 Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary, 4268, 5033  
 ant, 1310  
 Antigua, 4269  
*apazote* grass, 2054  
*Apis*, 6273  
 apron, 1856, 3683  
 aqa: *aqan*, 50  
*Aquila*, 5961

*Ara*, 824  
*Aramides*, 734  
*Aratinga*, 824  
 archaeology, 696, 721, 722, 725, 844, 927, 1023, 1113, 1242, 1373, 1732, 1965, 2164, 4580, 5446, 6440, 6753, 7295, 7843, 7846  
*Archilochus*, 5033  
 architecture, 721, 788, 1242, 1599, 1732, 1856, 1917, 2107, 2161, 3179, 5773, 6732, 6867, 7147, 7258, 7295, 7412, 7640, 7847, 7849  
 area, 37  
 armadillo, 4267  
 Armadillo Droppings, 7990  
 armband, 7295  
 armor, 6753  
 arrow, 6753  
 arrowhead, 1759  
 art, 49, 696, 725, 927, 993, 1113, 1373, 1726, 2376, 5279, 5446, 6440, 6650  
 artifacts, 721, 722, 843, 863, 1023, 1113, 1759, 1826, 1856, 2173, 2790, 3436, 3702, 4268, 4580, 5097, 5279, 5546, 6440, 6753, 7157, 7178, 7295, 7412, 7640  
 artisan, 1726  
*Asio*, 1894, 3807  
 aspect, 2525, 6501  
 astronomy, 1349, 5273, 5580, 7166, 7582  
 atan: *q'atan*, 4021  
*Ateles*, 810  
 Atitlan, 25, 109, 5099  
*atole*, 3147, 5712  
*Avilix*, 5276  
 avocado, 7560  
 axe, 6753  
*ayote*, 3122  
*aztapulul* (n., Nah. *aztapololli*), royal crane, 7295  
 Aztec, 38  
 bag, 721  
*Bakah*, 5091, 6732  
 baking, 3147  
 Balamya, 5106  
*balche*, 1293, 4197  
 bald eagle, 5961  
 ball court, 1732, 1856, 1917, 2161, 7640  
 ball game, 1856, 2067, 3683, 4067  
 ballplayers, 5053  
 bamboo, 1373  
 banana, 7412

- Bark, 7412  
 Barrera Vásquez, Alfredo, 5258  
 Barriers, 5091  
 Barthel, Thomas S., 696, 5446  
 basket, 721  
 Basseta, Domingo, 4268, 6345  
 bastion, 7640  
 bat, 697, 3935, 5035, 5091  
*bate*, 1856  
 bath, 6732  
 bath bowl, 7295  
 bath trough, 7295  
 Bats, 5095, 5114, 7862  
 beads, 37, 7295  
 beans, 3124, 3147  
 beard, 1020  
 Beard, 7412, 7417, 7582, 7640  
 bee, 3184, 6273  
 beehive, 5091, 5105  
 beetle, 6273, 7358  
 bench, 2037, 7295  
 Bench Captain, 7708  
*bichok* (n.), courtyard, 4630  
 Bilil pan Tzokan, 7358  
 Bird, 7082  
 1 Bird, 8414  
 birdlime, 1554  
 birds, 24, 148, 402, 725, 734, 741, 824, 1554, 1739, 1825, 1890, 1896, 2354, 2958, 3462, 3803, 3807, 3869, 4395, 4580, 4756, 4766, 4810, 5033, 5035, 5091, 5096, 5273, 5961, 5962, 6650, 6732, 7295, 7326, 7412, 7708, 7862, 8414  
 Birds, 5091, 5096, 5114  
 birthstones, 7178  
 Bishop, 7642  
 black beans, 3124  
 Blood, 7823, 7843, 7862, 8552  
 Blood Chief, 1786, 1810, 3595  
 Blood Girl, 1003  
 blood sacrifice, 5514, 6203, 7412  
 Bloody Claws, 3595  
 Bloody Teeth, 3595  
 blowgun, 6753  
 body painting, 5514  
 boiling, 3147  
 boils, 1788  
 Bone Staff, 1799  
 boots, 7295  
 Borgia Codex, 993  
 Borhegyi, Stephan F., 722, 2037, 5279  
 bow and arrow, 6412, 6753, 7026  
 bowing, 7295  
 bowl, 721  
 box, 721  
 Boy, 6007  
 bracelet, 7295  
 Branches, 5091, 5114, 5260  
 Brazilian eagle, 5961  
 bride price, 4823, 7549  
 Brinton, Daniel G., 6058  
 brocade, 6650  
 Broken Branches, 7358  
 bromeliad, 1373  
 broom, 3737  
*Brotogerys*, 824  
*Bubo*, 1890  
*Bufo*, 3292  
 bulrush, 681  
 Bunzel, Ruth, 25, 184, 953, 1789, 2008, 2107, 2250, 3080, 4395, 4823, 7157, 7295, 7326  
 burial, 1242, 2164  
 Burkitt, Robert, 4766  
 burning, 7642  
 burning of Uatlan, 7589, 7642  
*Bursera*, 4004  
 buzzard, 5962  
*Byrsonima*, 968, 4781  
  
 ca: *q'ab*, 6674  
 cacao, 2529, 4779, 4801  
 cactus, 2953  
 Caesar, 7675  
 Cágaba, 6660  
 cahi: *kahib*, 7655  
 Cahita, 1856  
*Cahuizimah* (n., Nah. *chicucozomatl*), 8 Monkey, 7824  
*Caiman*, 927  
 Cakchiquel, 56, 184, 1003, 1789, 1790, 1799, 1800, 1812, 1825, 1917, 2525, 2837, 3310, 3935, 4254, 4269, 4766, 4810, 5031, 5035, 5074, 5095, 5096, 5100, 5101, 5102, 5103, 5104, 5110, 5114, 5273, 5279, 5927, 6131, 6554, 7110, 7841, 7862  
 cal: *q'uul*, 6666  
 calendar, 27, 37, 38, 67, 184, 402, 824, 896, 927, 928, 1896, 2527, 2528, 4395, 4801, 4827, 4828, 5070, 6211, 7123, 8158, 8309  
*Calocarpum*, 3366  
 camacu: *ka mukü*, 6058, 7107  
*camahuiles*, 7178  
 cancer, 1789  
 candles, 4580  
 Canebrake, 7082, 7589  
*Canis*, 20  
 canopy, 7295  
 canyon, 7640  
*Capsicum*, 3147  
 Captain, 7166, 7258, 7683, 8552  
 captive, 1759, 1826, 4395  
 Caribbean, 184  
 carnival, 2908  
*Casimiroa*, 4781  
 cat, 268  
 cataracts, 3366  
 cattails, 681  
 caueztan (n., Nah. *huitztlan*), south, 5927  
 cauiquib: *Qavekib*, 7184  
 cave, 2908  
*caxtilan* (n., Sp. *castellano*), Castilian, 8412  
 cayac: *k'iaq*, 3272  
 cedar, 231

## Index

- ceiba, 4228  
 cement, 7640  
 cenote, 4252  
 censer, 5279, 6440  
 Center of the Valley, 5281, 7656  
 centipede, 928, 4268  
*Centuroides*, 1991  
 Cequechul, 8414  
 ceramics, 27, 721, 722, 4580, 5446, 6440, 7178  
 cha: *ch'ab*, 3764  
 Chac, 3939  
 chachux: *ch uch'ax*, 4035  
 Chahil, 8413  
 Chahuh, 8552  
 Chairman, 7708  
*cham-cham* (n., Nah. *champuchili*), earring, 7295  
 Chama, 5446  
*Chamiya Baq*, 1799  
*Chamiya Holom*, 1800  
 chancre, 1789  
 Chañobal, 2877  
 chao: *ch'av*, 4309  
*Chayota*, 3147  
 chest, 721  
 Chest House, 6732  
 chi: *chik*, 3493  
 Chibchan, 25, 6660  
*chicha*, 1293, 4197  
*Chichicaste*, 7841  
 Chichicastenango, 25, 184, 402, 953, 1168, 1896, 2107, 3292, 3561, 4395, 4828, 7157, 7504, 7841, 7958, 7959, 7960, 7962  
 chicken, 725, 734  
 Chief, 7081, 8552  
*Chil Tzareb*, 7412  
*chilacayote*, 3147, 4009  
 Chilam Balam, 648  
 chile, 3122, 3147  
*Chimalmat* (n., Nah. *chimalamatl*), shield bearer, 929, 987  
*chinamital* (n., Nah. *chinamitl*), lineage, 7571, 7662  
 Chinchilla Aguilar, Ernesto, 4395  
 Chipal, 5776, 6412, 6732, 7326  
*chipillin*, 3737  
 Chipo, 7890  
*chirimía*, 7295  
*chirimoya*, 4781  
*Chiroptera*, 697  
 Chixoy, 1381  
*Chlorophora*, 2712  
 chocolate, 3147  
 Choh Lan, 7295  
 Chol, 1759, 2939, 3179, 4825  
 Chol Poval Ahilabal Q'ih, 402, 928, 1726, 1759, 2008, 5341, 6113  
 Chorti, 4766  
 Christianity, 45  
*Christoval* (n., Sp. *Cristóbal*), Christopher, 8495  
 Chulimal, 7958, 8054  
 Chumayel, 648  
 church, 2107  
 Cihuacoatl, 7677  
*Cipacna* (n., Nah. *Cipactonal*), lizard day, 927  
 Cipactonal, 927  
 Classic, 7846  
 Clavijero, Francisco J., 7295  
 claws, 7295, 7326, 7708  
 cloth measure, 37, 7675  
 co: *q'u*, 3679  
 coati, 21  
 coaviquib: *Qavekib*, 7248  
*Coccus*, 2376  
 cochineal, 2376  
 cocksfoot, 1373, 6156  
 codex, 6753  
 colds, 1788  
 collander, 721  
 Colombia, 25  
 Colonial Quiche, 1003  
 colors, 928, 2008  
*Columbigallina*, 2958  
 confession, 7326  
 container, 721  
 conure, 824  
*copal*, 4580, 5097, 5927  
 copper, 843  
*Corbus*, 4756  
 cordage, 7675  
 corn, 559, 681, 3147, 3436, 4766, 5097, 5257  
 Corn, 7082  
 7 Corn, 8552  
 corn candy, 3147  
 Corn Snake, 7082  
 cornbread, 3147  
 cornmeal, 3147  
*Cortés* (n., Sp. *Cortés*), surname, 8418  
 Cortés, 8411  
 Cortés, Juan, 8552  
 cosmology, 19, 27, 928, 1693, 1896, 2008, 2107, 2133, 3292, 4032, 4614, 5035, 7358, 8552  
*Cotinga*, 148  
 cotton, 6753, 7675  
 cougar, 268  
 cough, 1789  
 Counsellor, 7166, 7244, 7258, 7287, 7326, 7642, 7708, 8552  
 counting, 37, 3030  
 cousin, 4823, 7082, 8552  
 coyote, 20, 4810, 6412  
 crab, 110, 1373  
 crafts, 560, 1726, 2376, 2712, 5324, 6429, 6650, 6753, 7326, 7675  
 cramps, 1789  
 crane, 7295  
*Crax*, 734  
 creation, 193, 431, 2908, 4915  
 cremation, 7843  
*Crescentia*, 2173  
*cristianoil* (n., Sp. *cristiano*), Christianity, 46  
 Cristobal, 8552  
 crook-necked squash, 3147  
 cross, 1896

- Crossed Lance, 6555  
 crossroads, 1693  
*Crotalaria*, 3737  
*Croton*, 2357, 2376  
 crow, 3331, 4756  
 crucifixion, 4230  
*cruz* (n., Sp. *cruz*), cross, 8584  
 cu: *q'ut*, 1021  
 Cuauhtemoc, 8413  
 Cubulco, 6449, 7397  
 cucumber, 3147  
*Cucumis*, 3147  
*Cucurbita*, 3147  
*cuerta*, 37  
 cuhun: *huhun*, 6815  
 cul: *q'ut*, 2367  
*culantrillo*, 1788  
 cult, 402, 6203, 7510  
 cup, 721  
 cupuh: *q'ubuh*, 2952  
 curse, 6732  
 cut: *k'at*, 2359  
*Cyanocitta*, 4766  
 cycle, 37, 38, 67, 6211, 7123, 8158  
  
 dahlia, 2953  
 dan: *Tam*, 6100  
 dance, 1759, 2790, 2877, 4266, 4268, 4269, 4395, 6660, 7640  
 Dance of the Conquest, 2877, 6007  
 Dancers, 5091, 6131  
*Dasypus*, 4267  
 dating, 1003, 7843  
 dawn, 19, 4032  
 Dawn of the Storm Gods, 5786  
 day, 184, 402, 824, 896, 927, 2527, 2528, 5070  
*de* (p., Sp. *de*), of, 8497  
 dead, 2908, 4614  
 Death, 7990, 8552  
 1 Death, 1759  
 7 Death, 1759  
 decapitation, 2164  
 deception, 6990  
 deer, 265, 4580, 6203, 7295  
 Deer, 896, 4395  
 3 Deer, 8552  
 9 Deer, 8552  
 10 Deer, 7848  
 deer cotton, 2054  
 Deer Dance, 4395, 6203  
 Delegate, 7708  
 demon, 696, 1006, 3561, 3803, 6660  
 depth, 37  
 descent, 4823  
 Devil, 5424, 7082  
 diagnostician, 402  
 dialect, 2952, 3292  
 dice, 1731  
*Didelphis*, 19, 4266  
 diet, 3147, 5712  
 digging stick, 1826  
  
*Dios* (n., Sp. *Dios*), God, 45  
 dipper, 721  
 direction, 928, 1896, 2008, 5927  
 disease, 1789, 1790, 1807, 1808  
 dish, 721  
 distance, 37  
 divination, 184, 402, 498, 1731, 2621, 3436, 6113  
 dog, 758  
 Dog, 4395  
 2 Dog, 928  
 9 Dog, 8552  
*Don* (n., Sp. *don*), sir, 8552  
 doorbell, 7147  
 dove, 148, 1739, 2958  
 drama, 193, 2877  
 dream, 402  
 Dresden Codex, 33  
 dress, 37, 845, 1113, 1800, 1801, 1856, 3683, 4268, 6650,  
 6732, 6753, 6825, 7295, 7326, 7708  
 drink, 7295  
 dropsy, 1808  
 drum, 1726, 7295  
 Drum, 7412  
 dry measure, 4801  
 dummy, 7026  
 dung fly, 3184  
 Dusty Court, 2161  
 dwarf, 186, 4766  
 dye, 560, 2376, 2712  
 dysentery, 1789  
  
*e: el*, 2118  
 eagle, 1693, 4395, 5273, 5961, 6650, 6732, 7326, 7708  
 earring, 7295  
 earspool, 7295  
 earthquake, 953, 7026  
 eating, 1642  
 eczema, 1789  
*Elaphrium*, 4004  
*Elateridae*, 3650  
 embroidery, 6650  
 emphasis, 3987  
 error, 1144, 1275, 3493, 7651, 8514  
*Erythrina*, 560  
 Escuintla, 7890  
 etiology, 25, 891, 3080, 3366  
 etymology, 2, 33, 184, 186, 824, 927, 929, 936, 1702, 1759,  
 1917, 2161, 5070, 5074, 5095, 5257, 5279, 5546, 5927,  
 7081, 7089, 7282, 7677, 7690, 7823, 7824, 7966, 8403  
 8405  
*Eupsychortyx*, 734  
 evil eye, 611  
  
 fable, 3292  
 Fabregat, 6058  
 false dawn, 4032  
 fasting, 8158  
 fate, 2897  
 father's bones, 3179  
 feather, 863, 7295

## Index

- Feathered Serpent, 6076, 8552  
*Felis*, 268, 4825  
 fetish, 7178  
 fever, 1789, 7850  
*Ficus*, 49  
 fight, 993  
 Filth Maker, 1811, 3595  
 fire, 5337  
 Fire Peak, 5273, 5337, 5776, 6412, 6732, 7166  
 Fire Trees, 5095  
 firefly, 3650  
 firewood, 7549  
 First Creation, 820  
 First Fathers, 2250, 6660  
 fish, 109, 4254  
 fish poison, 4254  
 flea, 3271  
 flowers, 4580  
 flute, 1726, 1965  
 fly, 3184  
 flying ant, 1310  
 Flying Noose, 1785, 1810, 3595  
 Flying Pole Dance, 1168, 1233, 7824  
 food, 37, 3147, 6277  
 Former, 7082  
 fort, 7258, 7640, 7847, 7849  
 fortification, 6867  
 fox, 3080, 4766  
 fractures, 1789  
 fritters, 3147  
 frog, 3292  
 fruit, 968  
 fruit fly, 6273  
 frying, 3147  
 Fuego, 933, 7964  
 Fuentes y Guzmán, F. A. de, 4614  
  
 game, 1731, 1856, 2067, 3683, 4067, 4217, 5337  
 gargle, 1789  
 gems, 7295  
 genealogy, 894  
 generations, 8552  
 Genesis, 149  
 gesture, 1998  
 Girard, Rafael, 648, 993, 1168, 1233, 2161, 3436, 3803, 3939, 4004, 4228, 4269, 4766  
*Glaucidium*, 1890  
*Gliricidia*, 2712  
 glottalization, 18  
 glove, 1856, 3683  
 glyph, 53, 5341  
 gnat, 3271  
 gods, 33, 38, 184, 927, 928, 929, 987, 1003, 1166, 1223, 1701, 1759, 1785, 1786, 1789, 1790, 1799, 1800, 1811, 1812, 1825, 1826, 2207, 2939, 3595, 3939, 4228, 4614, 4766, 5276, 5279, 5281, 5546, 6007, 6113, 6660, 7082, 7656, 7862. *See also* demon, Fire Peak, Lord Jaguar, Storm, Tohil  
 goh: *k oh*, 4143  
 goiter, 1789  
 gold, 843, 3683, 7295  
 golden eagle, 5961  
*gorrión*, 5033  
*Gossypium*, 7675  
 gourd tree, 2173  
 government, 4483  
 Governor, 7258  
 grammar, 333, 573, 586, 657, 727, 741, 765, 804, 891, 898, 904, 915, 944, 972, 987, 1003, 1111, 1146, 1153, 1198, 1219, 1223, 1224, 1256, 1265, 1429, 1822, 2012, 2342, 2458, 2525, 2953, 3026, 3047, 3190, 3225, 3746, 3906, 3911, 4011, 4021, 4180, 4221, 4230, 4280, 4319, 4576, 4630, 6007, 7765  
 grandchild, 1073  
 Grandfather, 4395, 8403, 8552  
 Great Chairman, 8458  
 Great Chairman of the Bench, 7708  
 Great Collector of the Bench, 7708  
 great houses, 7640  
 Great-Houses, 4830, 5074, 5114, 7412, 7683, 8552  
 Great Quiche, 5078, 5114  
 green bean, 3124  
 green corn, 3147  
 greeting, 2020, 2451  
 griddle, 722  
 grinding, 2530, 3147  
*Guadua*, 1373  
*Gualgual Xucxuc*, 5053  
 guardian, 2250  
 Guatemala, 2  
*guicoy*, 3147  
*guisquil*, 3122  
 gum, 3366  
 Gumarcaah, 7589  
*Gypargus*, 5962  
  
 Hacienda Rabinala, 5094  
 hail, 7412  
*Haka Vitz*, 5279  
*Haliaeetus*, 5961  
 hanging, 7258, 7326, 7642  
 hangnail, 1789  
 hawk, 1739, 1825, 4756  
 Hawk, 3595, 4810  
 headache, 1789  
 headdress, 1856  
 heart sacrifice, 4395, 5606, 7640  
 hearth, 788  
 Hell, 4614  
*herah* (v.), soften, 4574  
 herbs, 1789, 4580  
 herebac: *harabaq*, 3868  
*Heterodon*, 3310  
*hok* (n.), road, 3245  
*hok'ih* (v.), blink, 2856  
 Holland, William R., 2908  
*holomax* (n.), croton, 2357  
 hominy, 3147  
 Honduras, 7278  
 honey, 1293, 3147

- honorific, 7081  
 hoop, 1856  
 horsefly, 3184  
 hospitality, 3710  
 Hot Springs, 7847  
 hours, 37  
 house, 3179  
 house burning, 4278  
 House of Cold, 2107  
 House Delegate, 7708  
 House Director, 7708  
 House of Fire, 2133  
 howler monkey, 810  
 hu: *k u*, 3972  
 Huastec, 4278  
 Huehuetenango, 938, 7089, 7846  
 human sacrifice, 4580, 7640  
 hummingbird, 5033  
 Hummingbird House, 5028  
 humor, 1618, 2837, 4098  
 hun: *tun*, 3963  
 Hun Ah Pu Q'oy, 2790  
 hunchback, 1023  
 Hunger, 7358  
 Hunter, 894, 896, 972, 982, 1982  
 1 Hunter, 894, 982, 1003, 1693, 1982  
 7 Hunter, 824, 894, 1003, 1693, 1982  
 hunting, 1554, 4254, 6203  
 hybris, 2897  
 Hymenoptera, 6273  
 Hypomorphnus, 5961  
  
 i: *il*, 1517  
 i: *in*, 834  
 ic: *r uq*, 6007  
 icon, 7178  
 idiom, 1401  
 idol, 5546, 7640  
 Ilocab, 7640  
 Imitator, 7326, 7424, 7708, 8552  
 immortality, 2250  
 impersonation, 6660  
 incense, 4580, 5514, 5927, 6176, 6178, 7166  
 7 Incense, 8552  
 incense tree, 7881  
 incest, 4823, 8552  
 indigenismo, 8413  
 inflection, 222, 364, 511, 591, 794, 841, 873, 891, 972, 2045,  
 2122, 3575, 4262, 7690  
 infusions, 1789  
 inheritance, 7082, 7244, 7258  
 Inquisition, 4395  
 insects, 1310, 2376, 3184, 3271, 3650, 6273, 6277, 6650, 6732,  
 7026, 7358  
 insignia, 7295, 7708  
 inversion, 2837, 3987, 4009  
 invertebrates, 110, 928, 1042, 1091, 1373, 1991, 3436, 4268,  
 7295. *See also* insects  
 iron, 843  
 irony, 4480  
  
 Israel, 5304  
 Itzamna, 3939  
 Itzpalolil, 2207  
 Ixil, 184, 1168, 4269, 5100, 5105  
 Iximche, 5093  
 ix-puch (n., Nah. *ichpoch*), girl, 6555  
 ix-tan (n., Cak. *ixtan*), girl, 6554  
 ixtapacal, 3124  
 Izapa, 1373  
 Izmachi, 7640  
 Izmaleh, 7417  
 Iztac Mixcoatl, 929  
 Iztayul (n., Nah. *iztayol*), white life, 7326  
  
 Jacob, 5708  
 jade, 844, 3683, 7295  
 jaguar, 268, 1693, 1759, 4825, 5273, 6203, 6412, 6650, 6732,  
 7082, 7295, 7326, 7708  
 Jaguar, 4395, 5106, 5324, 8552  
 5 Jaguar, 7358  
 9 Jaguar, 8417, 8552  
 Jaguar Deer, 972, 1982, 4395, 4614, 4825, 6203  
 Jaguar Night, 4825, 4830, 5273, 5337, 6412, 6732, 7026,  
 7166, 7412, 8552  
 jaguar priest, 1759  
 Jaguar Quiche, 4825, 4830, 5273, 5304, 5337, 5708, 6412,  
 6732, 7026, 7082, 7166, 7326, 7412, 8552  
 jaguarundi, 268  
 jar, 721  
 jaundice, 1789, 1790, 1795  
 jealousy, 7326  
 Jiménez Moreno, Wigberto, 6058  
 jiote, 4004  
 jocote, 1789, 4781  
 Joyabaj, 6449, 7966  
 Juan (n., Sp. *Juan*), John, 8552  
 juncture, 6503  
 juniper, 231  
 Juniperus, 231  
  
 Kaibim, 7082, 7258  
 Kaminaljuyu, 7278  
 katun, 27  
 Kavek, 4830, 5070, 5114, 7412, 8552  
 kayoh (v.), destroy, 801  
 Keh Nay, 7675  
 Kekchi, 2020, 3179, 4614, 4766, 5106  
 kidney beans, 3124  
 kilts, 3683  
 kings, 8552  
 kinship, 894, 1003, 1073, 2250, 2514, 2897, 3179, 3217,  
 4395, 4823, 5114, 7082, 7244, 7258, 7326, 7549, 7560,  
 8403, 8552. *See also* lineage  
 Kinsmen, 7082, 7326, 8552  
 Kiq'ab, 7823  
 kiss, 5337  
 knife, 6753  
 Knight, 7166, 7708  
 Koha, 7082  
 k'oloh (v.), round, 459

# Index

- Kuchumakik, 1786  
 Kukur Abah, 7412
- La Vega, 7843  
 laborer, 1826  
 labret, 7295  
 Lacandon River, 5773  
*ladino*, 2908, 5234  
 lah: *lahuh*, 3547  
 lahu: *lahuh*, 8162  
 lake, 25  
*Lampyridae*, 3650  
 land, 37  
 Landa, Diego de, 4252, 4269, 6753, 8158  
 Language of Zuyua, 5258  
 larvae, 6277, 7358  
 Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 673, 4614, 7326  
 Latin, 4835, 5424  
 law, 4483, 4656, 7326, 7412. *See also* tribute  
 leaching, 3147  
 league, 37  
 Leg, 7082  
 1 Leg, 184, 1003  
 2 Leg, 928  
 4 Leg, 7282  
 Lehmann, Walter, 4766  
 Lemoa, 25  
 length, 37  
 leprosy, 1789  
 levirate, 4823  
 life cycle, 1068, 3179, 3436, 4614, 7560, 7843  
 lima bean, 3124  
 lime, 7295  
 limestone, 7412  
 lineage, 4483, 4823, 5114, 7081, 7258, 8552  
 Lineage Head, 7295, 7326, 7708  
 Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan, 4830, 5028, 5029, 5260, 5273, 5304, 5337, 5708, 5776, 6412, 6555, 6732, 7026, 7082, 7166, 7295, 7326, 7358, 7412, 7560, 7708  
 literature, 45, 49, 53, 55, 820, 1168, 1233, 1759, 2790, 2877, 3292, 4266, 4268, 4269, 4395, 5258, 6007, 6203, 7640, 7824. *See also* Chol, Lineage, Origin, Quiche, Tam  
 Livingstone, 7278  
*logos*, 2250  
 Loh Tum, 4395  
 loo: *loob*, 8167  
 lord, 8552  
 Lord Jaguar, 5273, 5276, 6412, 6732, 7166  
 Lord Quiche, 4830, 5078, 5114, 8552  
 Lords of Hell, 3595  
 Lorenzo, Manuel, 184  
 lotz: *zotz'*, 697  
 louse, 3271, 3292  
*Lucuma*, 3366, 4781  
 lunar month, 37, 8309  
*Lycopersicon*, 4048
- Mace, 4395  
 McNett, Charles, 7295  
*macutax* (n., Nah. *macuetlaxtli*), bracelet, 7295
- madre de cacao*, 2712  
 magic, 611, 2477, 3047, 4278, 5869, 7412  
 maguey, 1166, 1293, 2953  
 maina: *mayinak*, 3881  
 mainic: *mayanik*, 5458  
 Majesties, 7677, 8458  
 Makukal, 5091  
 Malacatan, 7089  
 malaria, 1789  
 Mam, 184, 3179, 4766, 7823, 7846, 7847, 7848  
 Mamah, 5786  
 mammals, 20, 21, 265, 268, 697, 701, 758, 810, 1693, 1759, 2790, 2851, 3006, 3007, 3080, 3179, 3935, 4266, 4267, 4395, 4580, 4766, 4810, 4825, 5091, 5273, 6203, 6412, 6650, 6732, 7082, 7295, 7326, 7708  
 manioc, 1789  
 mantles, 3683, 6650, 6732  
 manuscript, 45, 53, 55  
 margay, 268  
 marriage, 4823, 7560  
 Marroquín, Alejandro, 7642  
 marsupials, 19, 3080, 4266  
 mask, 1113, 1856, 2790, 4268, 6660, 7412  
 Mat Collector of the House, 7708  
 Mat Head, 7708  
*matachin*, 4268  
*matasano*, 4781  
 matriarchy, 3217  
 Mayers, Marvin, 4766  
 Mazatenango, 4395  
 measure, 37, 4801, 7675  
 meat, 3147  
 Meavan, 1381  
 medicine, 402, 1789, 1790, 1795, 1807, 1808, 3366, 7850  
*Meleagris*, 734  
*melocotón*, 3147  
 men fish, 4254  
 men's house, 2037, 4823  
 messenger, 1896, 3098  
 metaphor, 193, 431, 2037, 2475  
*metate*, 725  
 Mexican, 5234, 6753, 7677, 8458  
 Mexico, 7326  
*mico*, 810  
 Miles, Suzanne W., 1373  
 mimosa, 1789  
*Mixcohua*, 1166  
*miztan* (n., Nah. *mictlan*), north, 5927  
 modesty, 6582  
 Molina, Alonso de, 33  
 Momostenango, 2008, 2877, 7824, 7849, 7850  
 money, 843  
 monkey, 810, 2790, 2851, 2908  
 Monkey, 4395  
 1 Monkey, 1726  
 7 Monkey, 7862  
 8 Monkey, 7824, 8552  
*mono*, 810  
*Monos y Micos*, 2877  
 month, 37, 38, 8309

- moquiquil: *muqikil*, 1242  
 mosaic masks, 1113  
 mosquito, 3184, 3493  
 mother-in-law, 1003, 2514  
 Mother of the Step House, 7677, 8458  
 mountain lion, 268  
 Mountain Prince, 8552  
 Muisca, 25  
 mushroom, 4580, 6265  
 music, 1726, 1965, 2790, 4395, 5627, 6058, 7295  
*Mustela*, 4266  
*Mycetes*, 810  
*Myrmecinae*, 1310  
  
 nabec: *labeq*, 647  
 nache: *nachel*, 7424  
*Nacxit* (n., Nah. *na-icxitl*), four leg, 7166, 7282, 7326, 7358, 7412, 7708  
 nagual, 4395, 6608  
 Nahuatl, 33, 184, 268, 554, 722, 824, 927, 928, 929, 1003, 1166, 1702, 1856, 1896, 1998, 2207, 2528, 3292, 3310, 3366, 3807, 4032, 4228, 4254, 4268, 4766, 4828, 5053, 5055, 5093, 5095, 5105, 5191, 5234, 5257, 5258, 5259, 5273, 5927, 6007, 6058, 6075, 6176, 6178, 6265, 6429, 6555, 7089, 7282, 7295, 7428, 7677, 7824, 7841, 7847, 7848, 7849, 8403, 8405, 8414  
 name, 184, 824, 927, 982, 1552, 4528, 5029, 7166, 7823  
*nanauac* (n., Nah. *nanauhcan*), quarters, 5191  
 Nanhuatl, 4228, 4766, 5191  
*nance*, 968, 4781  
*Nasua*, 21  
*na-vachir* (v.), understand, 481  
 necklace, 7295  
*Neotoma*, 3080  
 nerves, 1789  
*nct*, 721  
 nettle, 7841  
 nickname, 7848, 7990, 8411, 8544  
 Nights, 7412  
*Niq'ah Tak'ah*, 5281  
*nixtamal*, 2530  
 Nobleman, 8552  
 noseplug, 845, 7295  
 Nought, 4830, 5273, 5337, 6412, 6732, 7026, 7166, 7412, 8552  
 nudity, 6582  
 numerals, 37, 4801, 4827, 8158  
*Nyctidromus*, 3807  
  
 o: *ok*, 970  
 oak, 1789  
 obesity, 2837  
*obispo* (n., Sp. *obispo*), bishop, 7642  
 obsidian, 402, 6753  
 ocelot, 268  
 ocha: *echa*, 7560  
 Ocotepeque, 4228  
 odd number, 402  
*Odocoileus*, 265  
 Old Maya, 271  
  
 older brother, 7082, 8552  
 Olindepeque, 2877, 7848  
 Olmec, 5053  
*Oloman* (n., Nah. *ollomani*), ballplayer, 5053  
 omen, 402, 4009, 7166  
 omission, 107, 125, 344, 1681, 3690, 6988  
*Opuntia*, 2376  
 Origin of the Lords of Zapotitlan, 4830, 7082, 7258, 7675  
 ornithomancy, 402  
 orphan, 1003  
 orthography, 18  
*Otus*, 1890  
 ounce, 268  
 owl, 824, 1890, 1896, 2354, 3803, 3807, 3869  
 7 Owl, 824  
 owl skull, 7295  
 Owls, 5091, 5106  
*Oxalis*, 3366  
  
 pa: *pam*, 69  
 Pacific, 25, 110  
 pack rat, 3080  
 Painted House, 8552  
 painting, 1726  
 palace, 7258  
 pan: *pam*, 2076  
 panther, 268, 4395, 7082, 7295, 7708  
*Panthera*, 268  
 paper, 49  
 paragraphing, 3431  
 paralysis, 1789  
 parching, 3147  
 parrot, 824, 1739, 5035  
 7 Parrot, 824, 904, 915, 1003, 1053, 1067, 1113  
 parrot feather, 7295  
 Parrot House, 5028  
 parrot tails, 4268  
 particles, 37  
*pataxte*, 4779  
*patolli*, 1731  
 patrilinearity, 4823, 8552  
 patziac: *pa atx'iyaa*, 6156  
 Patzite, 7396  
 pavlix: *pa Avilix*, 5768  
 Paxil, 4766, 4810  
*Pecari*, 21  
*Pediculus*, 3271  
*Pedro* (n., Sp. *Pedro*), Peter, 8546, 8552  
 Pérez, Diego, 8546, 8552  
 perfume, 6732  
*pericón*, 6178  
 pet, 758  
 Peten, 7278  
 Peterson, Roger Tory, 3807  
*peyoh* (v.), describe, 57  
*Pharomacrus*, 24  
*Phaseolus*, 3124  
 pheasant, 734  
 philosophy, 2250, 2897, 8413  
*pichacha*, 721

# Index

- Pichoch, 7295  
*pie de gallo*, 1373  
 pig, 21, 4810  
 pig shanks, 7560  
 pigeon, 2958  
 pillars, 7640  
 pillow, 2037  
*piloy*, 3124  
 pine, 231  
*pinole*, 3147  
*Pinus*, 231  
 Pipil, 184, 824, 3292, 4228, 4766  
 pitcher, 721  
*pito*, 560  
 pixc: *pix*, 4048  
 plants: cultivated, 559, 681, 2173, 2529, 3122, 3124, 3147, 3436, 4004, 4009, 4048, 4766, 4779, 4801, 5097, 6753, 7412, 7560, 7675; dye, 560, 2376, 2712; fiber, 49, 681, 1166, 1293, 1373, 2529, 2953, 7640, 7675; food, 968, 3366, 3737, 4580, 4781, 6265; fuel, 231, 693, 2054, 2357, 2376, 3366, 3683, 4580, 5097, 5514, 5927, 6176, 6178, 7166, 7549; medicinal, 560, 1789, 3366, 4254, 4580, 6753, 7850  
 plaster, 1599, 7295  
 Pleiades, 1349  
 plural, 149, 198, 805, 1146, 1148, 1954  
 poetry, *see* scansion  
 Pohorilles, Noah E., 820  
 poison, 560, 4254, 6753  
 Pokomam, 5091  
 Pokomchi, 2020, 3179, 4766, 5091, 5106  
 polite address, 1003, 1067, 1516, 2311, 2315, 2338, 2514, 3190  
*Ponerinae*, 1310  
 popcorn, 3147  
 Popol Vuh, 1, 47, 56, 1003  
 Popoya, 7890  
 porter, 1826  
*posole*, 3147  
 possum, 19, 3080, 4266  
 pottery, 721  
 poultices, 1789  
 Pounded, 8552  
*poval*, 8158  
 prayer, 2250  
 price, 37  
 prickly pear, 2376  
 priest, 56, 402, 3436, 5043, 6660, 7636  
 primogeniture, 4823, 8552  
 prisoner, 1759  
 prize, 5337  
 proverb, 3098, 3357  
 psychology, 2897, 3575, 4915, 6582, 7326. *See also* sex  
*Pterocarpus*, 2376  
 pu: *pa*, 1302  
 pu: *puch*, 759  
*puheh* (v.), revolve, 222  
 Puk'lum, 4766  
*pulque*, 1166, 1293  
 puma, 268  
 pumpkin, 3147, 4009  
 pun, 193, 1135, 1349, 1605, 2378, 2451, 2514, 3350, 4111, 4209, 6214  
 pyramid, 5773, 7640  
 q: *k*, 6887  
 q: *q'ut*, 3891  
*Q'alel*, 7683  
 Qavinal, 7412  
 Qavok, 5070  
 Qibaki Ha, 7358  
 Qo, 7081  
 quail, 734, 7412  
 quantity, 37  
 quartz, 402  
 queche: *k'ichee*, 2  
 quechelah: *k'icheelah*, 263  
*quecholli*, 8414  
 quema: *kame*, 8491  
 quetzal, 24  
 Quetzalcoatl, 24, 929, 5257, 6076, 6077, 7282  
 Quezaltenango, 25, 7848, 8413  
 Quiche, 2, 5093, 7589, 7636, 7640  
 Quiche History, 5320, 5324, 5708, 7295  
 quilted armor, 6753  
*Quitzalcuat* (n., Nah. *Quetzalcoatl*), quetzal serpent, 6076  
 quitze: *k'ichee*, 4825  
 Q'uq' Kumatz, 24, 6076  
 ra: *ray*, 4327  
 rabbit, 3006  
 400 Rabbits, 1166  
 Rabinal, 481, 2525, 3292, 4395, 4830, 5091, 5094, 5114, 7082, 7258, 7394, 7843  
 Rabinal Achih, 1552, 6753  
 rail, 734  
 rain ceremonies, 2008  
 rampart, 7640  
 Rands, Robert L., 5446  
 rank, 1286, 1908, 2037, 5772, 7295, 7708  
 rash, 1789  
 rat, 3080, 3179  
 rattle, 7295  
 rattlesnake, 271, 6075  
*Rattus*, 3080  
 Raxon Amak, 7082  
 re: *are*, 3683  
 Red Trees, 5091  
 Redfield, Robert, 1293  
 Reed, 5869  
 regicide, 7480  
 religion, 25, 184, 402, 498, 611, 1731, 2008, 2164, 2621, 2897, 3436, 3803, 4009, 4278, 4395, 4580, 4825, 5514, 5606, 5869, 6113, 6203, 6608, 7166, 7178, 7326, 7412, 7510, 7640. *See also* magic, ritual, sacrifice, spirits  
 reptiles, 271, 2045, 3310, 4810, 5273, 6075, 7026  
 residence, 4823  
 resin, 693, 4580  
 resurrection, 4252  
 rhetoric, 193, 431, 1006, 1035, 1401, 1605, 1618, 2020, 2037, 2451, 2475, 2477, 2837, 3357, 3431, 3987, 4009, 4098,

- 4480, 5234, 7081, 7110. *See also* humor, idiom, polite address, pun, scansion
- Ripped Sands, 5708
- Rising Eagle, 7295
- Rising White, 7295
- ritual, 193, 402, 1998, 2250
- ritual number, 1890, 1991
- roasting, 3147
- Robles, 1965
- Robles, Pedro de, 8552
- Rojas (n., Sp. *Rojas*), surname, 8417
- Rojas, Juan de, 8552
- Rolled Limestone, 7358
- rotation, 5579, 5640, 7636
- Rotten Cane, 7589
- rubber, 3683, 4580
- Sacapulas, 5098, 5100, 5101, 5105
- sacred bundle, 7157
- sacrifice, 758, 3702, 4395, 4574, 4580, 6412, 6429, 7326
- sage, 402
- Sahagún, Bernardino de, 67, 1091, 1166, 1726, 1896, 3683, 4032, 4228, 4266, 4278
- Salazar, Pedro de, 8546, 8552
- Salcája, 5097
- Salix*, 7850
- San Andres Sajcabaja, 5768, 7845, 8114
- San Antonio Suchitepequez, 4395
- San Bartolome, 7374
- San Juan Ixcay, 2877
- San Pedro, 938
- San Pedro Carcha, 1917
- San Pedro Jocopilas, 5063, 6100
- San Sebastian Lemoa, 7963
- sand fly, 3271
- sand incense, 6178
- Santa* (n., Sp. *santa*), holy, 8584
- Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan, 7968
- Santa Cruz Quiche, 5786, 7396, 7589, 7642, 8166
- Santa Maria, 936, 7848
- Santa Maria Chiquimula, 7850
- Santiago Atitlan, 5096
- Santo Tomas Chichicastenango, 7841
- Sarcopsylla*, 3271
- sauce, 3147
- scansion, 90, 123, 127, 171, 193, 298, 344, 511, 605, 657, 727, 748, 765, 795, 865, 915, 1153, 1179, 1265, 1295, 1401, 1681, 1822, 1896, 1917, 2063, 2122, 2359, 2412, 2430, 2563, 2637, 2837, 2851, 3122, 3493, 3697, 3753, 3810, 3881, 3925, 3987, 4091, 4630, 6007, 6058, 6176, 7089, 7295, 7337, 8334
- Scherzer, Karl, 2712, 3700, 5516, 6753, 7426, 7968, 8417
- Schultze-Jena, Leonhard S., 184, 1896, 3561, 4395, 4766, 4828
- Scolopendra*, 4268
- scorpion, 1991
- screech owl, 3807
- sculpture, 1373, 1726, 7178
- sea, 25, 50, 5324, 5708
- second sight, 498
- seer, 402, 498
- Seers, 5064, 5091, 5114
- self, 3575, 4915
- self-sacrifice, 4278
- seniority, 7082, 8552
- señor* (n., Sp. *señor*), lord, 7642
- Sequechul, 8414
- Serpents, 5091, 5098
- Seven Caves, 5259
- Seven Tribes, 5091, 5110, 5114, 5337, 5366, 6412, 6732, 7026, 7412
- sex, 605, 2518, 2837, 6007, 6582, 6732, 6737
- Shaper, 7082
- shell, 3436
- shield, 6753
- Shields, 5091
- shrine, 1693, 2008, 7295
- sibling rivalry, 2897
- Sick Panther, 8544, 8552
- silver, 843, 6825
- silverwork, 1726
- simile, 1605
- singers, 1726
- sister-in-law, 7258, 7326
- size, 37
- skins, 5324, 6429, 7326
- Skull Staff, 1800, 6825
- slaves, 3683, 6789
- slingshot, 6753
- smallpox, 1789
- Smith, Robert E., 5446
- Smoke Hill, 7412
- smoking, 7295
- snail shell, 7295
- snake, 271, 1759, 2045, 3310, 4810, 5273, 6075, 6076, 7026
- Snake Captain, 7708
- snake hawk, 1739
- Snake Mountain, 8552
- Snare, 1826, 3595
- snoring, 4825
- Solola, 5093
- song, 5627, 6058
- sorcerer, 402
- soup, 3147
- Spanish, 45, 56, 402, 810, 6007, 6178, 7642, 7675, 8413
- Spanish moss, 6156
- Speaker House, 5091
- spear, 6753
- spider monkey, 810
- Spider Monkey Hunter, 2790
- spinning, 1726
- spirits, 263, 1042, 4140, 6007, 6825
- Spondias*, 4781
- spring, 5035
- spy, 7412
- squares, 7640
- squash, 3122, 3147, 4009, 5257
- staff, 1799, 1800, 6825, 7326

# Index

- stairway, 7640  
 star, 5273, 7166  
 Star House, 5031, 5091  
 status, 402, 403, 498, 855, 1068, 1726, 1759, 1826, 1896,  
 2250, 3098, 3683, 4395, 6789, 7258. *See also* kinship, priest,  
 rank, title  
 Step House Counsellor, 7166, 7244, 7642, 7708, 8552  
 stew, 3147  
 Stilt Dance, 4269  
 Stoll, Otto, 49, 2161  
 Storm, 5273, 6412, 6440, 6732, 7166, 7358  
 1 Storm, 6113, 7862  
 Storm Priest, 7708  
 succession, 4823, 7082, 8552  
 Suchitepequez, 7890  
 sun, 7166, 7582  
 Sun Boy, 2939  
 sun priest, 402  
 Sweatbath, 5091, 7412, 7427, 7480, 7656, 7708, 8552  
 Sword Dance, 4268  
*Sylvilagus*, 3006  
  
 T-shaped incisor, 1113  
 ta: *tak*, 1095  
 taboo, 3803, 6203  
*Tagetes*, 6178  
 Tajumulco, 938  
*takikil* (n., Nah. *tequitl*), work, 3375  
 Talamanca, 2161  
 talking cross, 5869  
 Tam Paper, 5091, 5095, 5106, 5260, 7582, 8417  
*tamales*, 3147, 7560  
*tamasul* (n., Nah. *tamasollin*), toad, 3292  
 tapir, 701, 4810  
*tatil* (n., Nah. *tentatl*), jade labret, 7295  
*Tayassu*, 21  
*Tecpan* (n., Nah. *tecpan*), palace, 5093  
 Tecuciztecatl, 4228  
 Tecum, 7848, 8403, 8413, 8417  
 Teletor, Celso Narciso, 481  
 tepary bean, 3124  
*Tepepul*, 8414  
*Tepeu* (n., Nah. *tepeuh*), conqueror, 23  
 Termer, Franz, 758  
 textiles, 37  
 Tezcatlipoca, 1759  
 thatch, 7640  
*Theobroma*, 4779  
 thirteen tribes, 5091, 5110, 5337, 7026  
 Three Quiche, 5114  
 throne, 7295  
 Tiba Tzi, 7358  
 Tibil Xat, 7412  
 tick, 3271  
 tiger urine, 1789  
 Tigre y Venado, 4395  
 Tikah Chalib, 7358  
*Tillandsia*, 1373  
 time, 37, 3030  
  
 tin, 843  
*tinamit* (n., Nah. *tinamitl*), town, 7  
*Tinamous*, 734  
 title, 402, 7081, 7082, 7166, 7244, 7258, 7287, 7295, 7326,  
 7412, 7642, 7673, 7675, 7677, 7683, 8458, 8552. *See also*  
 rank  
 tiz: *ziz*, 4009  
 to: *ta*, 90  
 toad, 3292  
 tobacco, 2054  
 tobacco root, 1789  
*Tohil*, 5273, 6073, 7640  
 Tohil phase, 927  
 Toltec, 5257  
*toltecac* (n., Nah. *toltecacil*), artisan, 554  
 tomato, 4048  
 tomb, 1242  
 Tonacatepetl, 4766  
*Tonatiuh* (n., Nah. *tonatiuh*), sun, 8411  
 Tooth, 7082  
 tooth decoration, 1113  
 toothache, 1789  
*tortilla*, 722, 3147  
*tostada*, 3147  
 Tonicapan, 7295, 7847  
 tovi, 824  
 Tozzer, Alfred M., 19, 21, 265, 734, 927, 1731, 1759, 1890,  
 1991, 2008, 2173, 2958, 3006, 3147, 3702, 3807, 4252,  
 4266, 4269, 4395, 5097, 5712, 5961, 6753, 7147, 7295,  
 7424, 7683, 8158  
 trapping, 1554  
 tray, 721  
 Tribes, 5114  
 tribute, 37, 1826, 5110, 7258, 7675, 7690  
*Trigonocephalus*, 271  
 Trik, Aubrey S., 7846  
 Trimborn, Hermann, 25, 6660  
 Troano, Manuscript, 33  
 trumpet, 4395  
 tuberculosis, 1789  
 Tula, 5095, 5110, 5257, 5260, 5304, 6058, 6077, 7166  
*Tulan* (n., Nah. *Tollan*), place of reeds, 5095, 5257  
 tum: *tun*, 2953  
 Tum Teleche, 4395  
 tumpline, 1826  
*tun*, 8158  
 turkey, 725, 734, 741  
 turquoise, 1113, 3683, 7295  
 turtledove, 2958  
 Turukah, 4828  
 Twenty, 8552  
 Two, 7082, 7258, 7326, 7675, 8552  
 Two Houses, 7358  
 tying, 67  
*Typha*, 681  
 Tzaha, 7082  
 Tzalakan, 7412  
 tz'ite, 402, 560, 3124  
 Tzitzimitl, 6007

- tziz: *ziz*, 4009  
 Tzutu Ha, 7412  
 tzutz: *zutz'*, 219
- ubi: *ubik*, 759  
 ulcer, 1789  
 ulo: *ulok*, 976  
 uma: *umal*, 798  
 umbilicus, 3436  
 Urera, 7841  
 urn, 721  
 Uspantec, 49  
 Utatlan, 5064, 7295, 7417, 7571, 7589, 7640, 7642, 8422  
 utzma: *utzinak*, 3881
- va: *vach*, 7510  
 value, 37  
 vampire, 3807  
 varnish, 2376  
 vassal, 855  
 velocity, 37  
 venereal disease, 1789  
 vengeance, 4656, 7326, 7412  
 Venus, 5580, 7166  
 Veracruz, 5053  
 Villa Rojas, Alfonso, 1293  
 Villacorta Calderón, J. A., 5053, 5091, 5110, 5260, 7862, 8412  
 8 Vine, 8405  
 vizaq: *vinaq*, 173  
 Vogt, Evon Z., 4032, 6825  
 volcano, 933, 934, 935, 938  
 volume, 37  
 vorom: *vonon*, 6273  
 vote, 5304  
 vulah: *vulih*, 457
- wall, 7640  
 war, 6007  
 Warkentin, Viola, 2939  
 wasp, 6273, 6732, 7026, 7358  
 water jar, 2173  
 water serpent, 25  
 Wauchope, Robert, 560, 721, 844, 927, 1242, 1732, 1998, 3179, 4580, 6440, 6753, 7178, 7282, 7843, 7850  
 weasel, 4266  
 weaving, 1726, 6650, 6753, 7675  
 weight, 37  
 whistle, 4236  
 white knife, 3702  
 White Life, 7326, 7428, 7480, 7708, 8552  
 White Sea House, 5028  
 white squash, 3147  
 white whip, 7560  
 White Wind, 7427, 7656, 8546, 8552  
 Whittaker, Arabelle, 2939  
 wildcat, 3007  
 willow, 1789, 7850  
 Wind, 4828, 5035  
 Wind Jaguar, 4825, 4830, 6374, 6460, 7412, 7656, 8552
- windstorm, 7358  
 wine, 1166, 4197  
 witch, 25, 402, 4825  
 witchcraft, 1822  
 Woodbury, Richard B., 7846  
 woodpecker, 4766, 5091, 5096, 7862  
 worms, 1042, 1091  
 Worshipping, 7412  
 Wound Maker, 1812, 3595
- xa: *xaq*, 473  
 xam: *qam*, 4009  
 xare: *xere*, 4023  
 xbaquiyalo (n., Nah. *cipactli-alo*), alligator parrot, 1702  
 Xibalba, 1759  
 Xik'iripat, 1785  
 Ximénez, Francisco, 4483, 7295  
 xit (n., Nah. *xihuitl*), turquoise, 1723  
 Xmuacane (n., Nah. *yex-omocane*), "thrice in each two places," great-grandmother, 33  
 xob (n.), worship, 444  
 xoccohauab: *ixoq ahavab*, 5038  
 xol: *xob*, 5645  
 Xomacac, 7850  
 Xpiacoc (n., Nah. *yex-paococane*), "thrice in another two places," great-grandfather, 33  
 xu: *xa*, 2404  
 Xukaneb, 4766
- yacam: *akam*, 6007  
 Yam u Kutu Raxoh, 7412  
 Yam Rimba, 7358, 7412  
 Yaqui (n., Nah. *yaqui*), traveler, 5234  
 Yaqui phase, 7843  
 yarn, 2529, 7675  
 yaws, 1789  
 year, 38, 67, 8158  
 yecouh: *yaq'oh*, 4070  
 Yellow Earth, 7358  
 yellow tree, 2712  
 yellowmouth, 5273  
 Yolcuat (n., Nah. *yolcoatl*), living serpent, 6075  
 Young Snake, 8552  
 younger brother, 8552  
 Yucatec, 184, 928, 1599, 1726, 1731, 1759, 2008, 2161, 2376, 2712, 2958, 3179, 3702, 4252, 4269, 4395, 5258, 5869, 5961, 6429, 7424, 7683
- zabac: *tzam baq*, 7295  
 zac: *tzag*, 3699  
 Zacualpa, 844, 927, 4580, 6440, 6753, 7843  
 Zaculeu, 7846  
 Zamaneb, 5094  
 zapote, 3366, 4781  
 Zaqi Q'axol, 6007  
 Zea, 559  
 zero, 4827  
 Ziman Abah, 5091  
 ziyah baq (n.) "bone stretch," a disease, 1807

## *Index*

*zompopo*, 1310

zoomorph, 725, 927

Zotzil, 1702, 2908, 3935, 4032, 4827, 5095, 6825

ztayub: *Iztayul*, 8390

ztayul: *Iztayul*, 8402

zu: *zuq*, 1528

Zutuhil, 184, 3179, 4395, 5096, 5099, 5114

*Zuyua* (n., Nah. *zuyoa*), make of palm, 5258, 5260, 5304,  
7166